

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Coal miners debate contract

Carter to strikers: 'Ratify or else!'

By Andy Rose

President Carter led his Bible-study class on Sunday, February 26, in praying that coal miners will vote for his proposed strike settlement and go back to work.

That doesn't mean he has stopped relying on more down-to-earth measures to force the coal bosses' contract terms down the miners' throats.

In his February 24 statement to the miners, Carter warned that if the contract is not "approved without delay," he will take "drastic and unsatisfactory legal action." The White House let it be known

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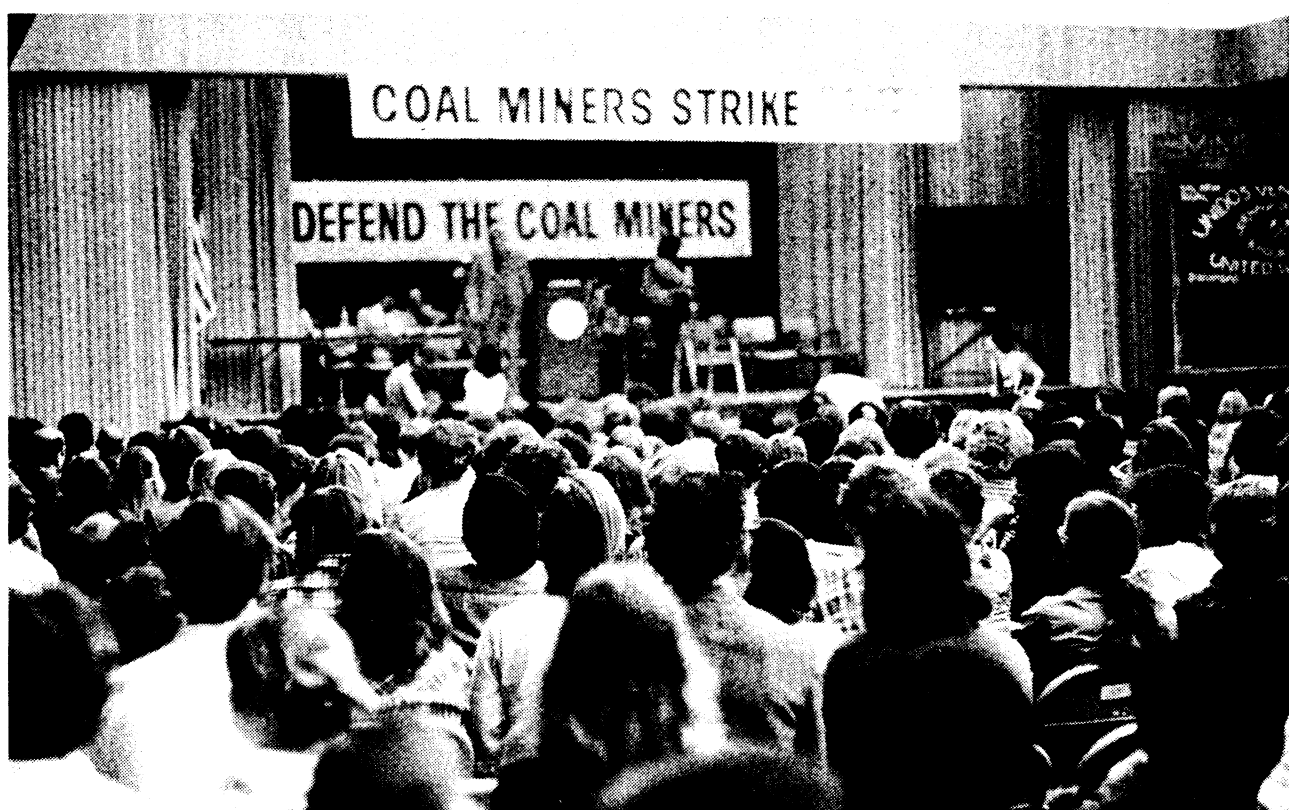
that this meant a Taft-Hartley back-to-work order and federal seizure of the mines.

Both Democratic and Republican politicians had already announced they would speed strike-breaking legislation through Congress as soon as Carter requested it.

To sugarcoat his threats, Carter tried an appeal to patriotism. He told the miners that support to the proposed contract would show "dedication to your country."

Jim Bailey, a UMWA local vice-president in Harlan County, Kentucky, responded that "usually when a president talks about patriotism it's the miners' rear that's getting picked on."

As the *Militant* goes to press, miners are just beginning to get copies of the contract offer and hold local union discussions on it. The United Mine Workers constitution specifies that a ratification vote must be held by secret ballot "no less than 48



Militant/Howard Petrick

SAN FRANCISCO—More than 1,000 unionists and other strike supporters rally to hear UMWA representatives.

hours following a full explanation of the proposed agreement and full opportunity for discussion and debate."

Militant correspondents in the coalfields report strong sentiment against the proposed settlement terms. Miners have quickly seen that Carter's "new" offer—while it drops some of the coal bosses' most outrageous demands—still includes the basic

elements of the "ball and chain" contract from early February.

The UMWA's democratic ratification procedure—which the big-business news media condemn as cumbersome and time-consuming—is a powerful weapon for the union ranks. It helped them block the coal companies from imposing the earlier settle-

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Class, race and the suffrage movement



also:

Koch, Carey and Carter gang up on New York workers

Union solidarity & political action

Up against a union-busting offensive by the coal companies and the Carter administration, the nation's coal miners have fought back heroically in defense of job safety, health care, and the right to strike. In doing so, they have won the sympathy of millions of working people.

But the top labor officialdom has not lifted a finger to aid the miners.

AFL-CIO President George Meany went so far as to lecture Carter for not moving against the miners fast enough! While criticizing the president for failing to halt the strike sooner, Meany turned around and promised, "we won't criticize him" if Carter invokes the strikebreaking Taft-Hartley Act.

The great "labor statesman" then praised West Virginia Gov. John Rockefeller IV, whose family controls billions of dollars in the coal industry. "I think Governor Rockefeller has got the answer," Meany said. "He said it very clear . . . seize the mines and operate them under conditions that would get the miners back to work."

The self-proclaimed "progressive" union officials parroted Meany's line on government seizure of the mines. United Auto Workers President Douglas Fraser declared on February 21 that "a government takeover for a brief period would be acceptable."

Fraser added that the kind of contract he favors is "an agreement that would restore stability in the coalfields," precisely the demand the companies have insisted upon since negotiations began.

Neither union bureaucrat said a word about the miners' demands for safety, for the right to strike, or for the health benefits stolen from the union by the companies.

Meany and Fraser fear the example the miners have set of how to wage a militant fight against the bosses. And they fear the steps toward union democracy that have enabled and encouraged the miners to wage their struggle.

Furthest from the minds of these union misleaders is the need to build labor solidarity with the miners. Instead, Meany and Fraser

tell the miners to put their faith not in their own class, but in the "neutral" arbitrators in the White House. Let Carter run the mines, they say, and he will solve your problems.

But the miners' strike shows just the opposite. The Democratic and Republican parties are antilabor weapons in the hands of the capitalist class. The miners' weapon is the independent strength of the working class, a mighty power indeed, as the coal strike has dramatically shown.

That strength can be multiplied and reinforced by the whole labor movement coming to the aid of the miners right now. By mobilizing the full power of organized labor to publicize the issues in the strike, to demonstrate, to raise funds for the miners, and to carry out other solidarity activities, the government/employer offensive against the UMWA can be stopped.

The miners' struggle also raised broad social and political problems that cannot be solved by strikes and collective bargaining alone—enforcement of safety laws, free health care for all, a shorter workweek to create jobs. These issues pose the dilemma faced by the union in having no voice of its own in government. As one West Virginia miner put it, "None of the politicians stand up for the miners."

"We don't have money, so we don't have any real representation," explained another.

But the miners and other workers *do* have the strength to place their own political representatives in power, by breaking with the labor-hating Democrats and Republicans and forming their own party, a labor party based on the trade unions.

It is this logic of independent political action that the Frasers, Meanys, and other labor fakers fear most of all. But more and more miners and other working people will increasingly see this course as the only road forward.

Death on rails

Two fatal railroad accidents in February have focused public attention on the dangerously poor condition of the nation's railways.

On February 24 twelve people died after liquid propane spilled from a derailed tank car and exploded in Waverly, Tennessee.

Two days later, eight more people died after a derailment in Florida allowed huge quantities of poisonous chlorine gas to escape. The same day, yet another derailment spilled sodium hydroxide (lye). Fortunately, no one was hurt.

These disasters are only the latest in a mounting series of rail mishaps. In 1977, according to federal statistics, there were 7,858 derailments—4,360 caused by poor roadbeds. Five hundred involved hazardous substances.

Behind these accidents lies the drive by the rail carriers to boost their profits. In the current rail contract negotiations, the carriers have declared war on job safety and track conditions—just as mine operators are waging war on health and safety in the mines.

The carriers want to cut the size of train crews by one-fourth—thus making safe operations by the remaining overworked crew members more difficult. The carriers have already won the power to assign track crews to exhausting *eighty-hour* workweeks with no overtime pay.

These moves by the rail employers are aimed at squeezing more work out of fewer workers in less time—speedup. And that means profits first, safety last.

Rail workers, on the other hand, are demanding full crews and the right of union safety committees to immediately shut down unsafe operations—a key demand of the striking miners today.

In addition, the railroads invest as little as possible on track and equipment maintenance.

Washington is a willing accomplice of the rail carriers.

Although U.S. Transportation Secretary Brock Adams has admitted that decrepit roadbeds were the cause of the three recent derailments, he has refused to do anything to force the rail carriers to improve them. Instead, Adams promised a few cosmetic changes—some more safety inspectors.

But this will do nothing to make the railroads safer. The only way to accomplish that is to brake the people-be-damned profit drive of the carriers.

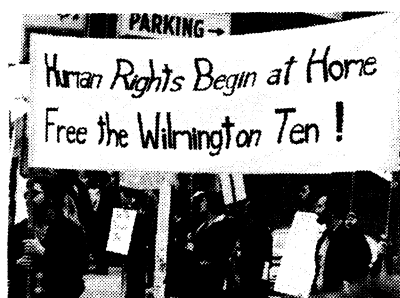
An important step in that direction is for all unionists and other working people to support the railroad workers in their fight against the carriers' contract demands.

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Panamanian tells senator: 'US Out!'

Miguel Antonio Bernal, an exiled Panamanian revolutionist, debated U.S. Senator Alan Cranston during the first leg of a six-week U.S. tour. Bernal's message? "Give the Panama Canal back to Panama!"

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'King': the man & the movement

NBC's three-part series on Martin Luther King distorted both the civil rights movement and King's own politics in an attempt to lift him out of the struggle and times that shaped him. Page 26.

SWP comes to North Carolina

Wilmington 10 frame-up . . . antiunion "right to work" laws . . . the death penalty. . . Members of the new branch of the Socialist Workers Party in Raleigh are finding a lot that needs to be fought in North Carolina.

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Published weekly by the Militant, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone Editorial Office (212) 243-6392; Business Office (212) 929-3486. Southwest Bureau: 1250 Wilshire Blvd., Suite 404, Los Angeles, California 90017. Telephone: (213) 482-3184.

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Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscriptions: U.S. \$15.00 a year, outside U.S. \$20.50. By first-class mail: U.S., Canada, and Mexico: \$42.50. Write for surface and airmail rates to all other countries.

For subscriptions airmailed from New York and then posted from London directly to Britain and Ireland: £2.00 for ten issues, £4.50 for six months, £8.50 for one year. Posted from London to Continental Europe: £2.50 for ten issues, £6.00 for six months, £11.50 for one year. Send banker's draft or international postal order (payable to Pathfinder Press) to Pathfinder Press, 47 The Cut, London SE18LL, England. Inquire for air rates from London at the same address.

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

Protest in Nashville March 18

By Jerry Hornsby

NASHVILLE, Tenn.—The NAACP is stepping up efforts to build support for the March 18 protest here against the South Africa—U.S. Davis Cup tennis match. The match is being hosted by Vanderbilt University.

NAACP Youth Field Director Janice Johnson is currently touring campuses to mobilize university students for the demonstration. She has already spoken at fifteen area colleges.

The NAACP has issued a call to all 1,700 branches urging them to send delegations.

Demonstrators will gather at 11 a.m. at the Legislative Plaza and march to Centennial Park, across from Vanderbilt University, for a rally.

Meanwhile, the Tennessee Coalition Against Apartheid has sent out a call to eighty-six antiapartheid organizations across the country urging support for the March 17-19 protests. "It is in the interest of all organizations and individuals who would like to see the

antiapartheid movement take on a new mass character," TCAA says, "to protest these matches and consider seriously making building these demonstrations a priority for the next three weeks."

The coalition is sponsoring protests here on March 17 and 19.

Two Nashville ministers' groups representing more than 300 churches have also called a demonstration outside offices of top Vanderbilt administrators March 1.

In addition, eighty-five Vanderbilt faculty members have issued a statement to university officials charging that hosting the matches makes the university appear to "sanction apartheid." And four Vanderbilt students from Rhodesia, Angola, and South Africa announced that in order to help publicize the protests, they will speak in the Nashville area about the conditions throughout southern Africa.

On February 23 antiapartheid activist Dr. Richard Lapchick returned to Nashville amid sensationalistic charges that wounds he had received nine days earlier were self-inflicted. Lapchick, national chairperson of ACCESS [American Coordinating Committee for Equality in Sport and Society], was attacked in his office at Virginia Wesleyan College by two white men who called him "nigger lover" and carved the word "nigger" across his abdomen.

Responding to these charges, Lapchick drew a parallel with attempts by the South African government to explain away the murder of jailed Black leader Steve Biko. The South African racists first claimed that Biko had starved himself to death, and later that he had beaten his head against a prison wall.

Lapchick noted that the medical examiner's statement that the wounds were self-inflicted was issued within an hour of the FBI entering the case to investigate if his civil rights had been



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violated. Lapchick also said that three other doctors who treated him did not agree with the medical examiner's report.

Lapchick told an audience of 175 at Vanderbilt, "I have returned to Nashville to try to refocus attention where it belongs, on South Africa."

NSCAR leaflet available

The National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR) now has printed leaflets available to help publicize the NAACP-sponsored March 18 demonstration against the South Africa-U.S. Davis Cup matches.

The NSCAR leaflet also urges participation in the March 17 and 19 actions organized by the Tennessee Coalition Against Apartheid.

Leaflets and other NSCAR materials can be obtained from the NSCAR national office: 160 Fifth Avenue Room 615, New York, New York 10010. Phone (212) 243-5403.

500 rally in D.C. against 'alien' jobs ban

By Steve Bride and Maura Rodríguez

WASHINGTON—This city's Latino community has landed the first blow in what promises to be a hard-fought battle for the rights of immigrants without visas.

The battle is over City Council Bill 2-224, which would prohibit the employment of undocumented immigrants, the people the government brands "illegal aliens."

An angry crowd of 500 people, mostly Latinos, launched the fight against the bill at a community speak-out held February 14 at El Centro Wilson in the heart of D.C.'s Latino community.

Speakers included Arturo Griffiths, director of El Centro; José Medina, of the Georgetown University Raza Law Students; Pedro Lujan, of the Council of Hispanic Organizations; city council members Hilda Mason, Sterling

Tucker, and Dave Clark; D.C. School Board member Frank Shaffer-Corona; Tino Calabria of the Pacific/Asian American Federal Employees Association; and Jesi Chancy-Manigat of the Committee on Haitian Concerns.

Two days later a strategy meeting of seventy people voted to carry the fight to the steps of the district building with a protest demonstration on the evening of March 1 during special council hearings on the bill.

Both meetings were called by the D.C. Coalition on Migration and Full Employment.

The bill—dubbed the "Rolark Bill" after its sponsor, Councilwoman Wilhelmina Rolark—would impose fines up to \$10,000 on employers who "knowingly hire" workers without papers.

The bill is similar to legislation now before Congress as part of President Carter's crackdown on immigrants

without visas. Chicano and other Latino organizations have denounced such bills as racist. The bills would give employers a legal loophole to discriminate against all Latinos and anyone else employers think looks or sounds "foreign." In addition, the bills would not do anything about unemployment, the problem they claim to solve.

Arturo Griffiths opened the February 14 speak-out by outlining how U.S. economic and political power in Latin America creates the conditions of unemployment and poverty that have led to the influx of Latino immigrants into this country.

Speaking in Spanish, Griffiths said the Rolark Bill would only be defeated by a massive movement that included all members of the D.C. foreign-born and Black communities.

Law student José Medina charged that "the bill will cause divisions be-

tween the Latino and Black communities. It is intended to keep all workers from uniting to defeat unemployment."

City council member Hilda Mason drew an analogy between the plight of foreign-born workers and that of Black Americans, saying, "We were brought here in chains against our will and forced to work. And we too do not have equal opportunity."

Frank Shaffer-Corona linked the bill with the so-called Carter Plan for a crackdown on immigrants. "There is no difference between Nixon, Ford, and Carter in their stands on immigration."

Shaffer-Corona charged that racism was behind the Carter Plan. He pointed to government studies that "say it is not good to have so many Latinos in this country. [They are afraid because] we're a rapidly growing minority."

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...Carter threatens coal strikers

Continued from front page

ment, which UMWA President Arnold Miller had accepted.

Carter tried to intimidate the miners then, too, but without success. Their massive rank-and-file resistance showed the power of workers to stand up against a government that represents only a rich minority. This prompted Carter to shift tactics. Labor Department mediators engineered an agreement, announced on February 20, between UMWA officials and the Pittsburgh and Midway Coal Company (P&M).

The government and the coal industry then went through an elaborate charade designed to convince working people that Carter had switched to "pressuring" the bosses rather than the miners. News reports told of a White House "squeeze" on the Bituminous Coal Operators Association to go along with the P&M contract.

This mock confrontation was intended to give the false impression that the P&M contract included big gains for the miners, that it was the best they could possibly hope to win. The national contract offer announced by Carter is practically identical to the P&M terms.

P&M workers were not snowed. "To vote for a contract like that, a man would have to be out of his head," said one miner after casting his vote. The proposed P&M pact was rejected by a two-to-one margin by union members.

Meanwhile, the government and the coal companies continued grinding out propaganda blaming the miners for power shortages.

Thus Carter's entire maneuver, including the phoney bluster against the companies, was aimed at putting the government in a stronger position to attack the miners if they reject the contract—while trying to restore Washington's image as "neutral" in the strike.

Unfortunately, Miller and other top UMWA officials fell into Carter's trap and let themselves be used in this ploy. The union bargaining council—which under mass rank-and-file pressure had voted down the "ball and chain" contract—accepted the P&M terms.

Now that the coal operators have dropped their sham "resistance" to this pact, Miller has undertaken to sell the contract to the membership.

Rather than listening for the ranks



Miners vote during 1974 contract ratification. Democratic procedure is powerful weapon for rank and file.

to express their views, Miller is spending some \$40,000 of the members' dues money for an advertising campaign to promote the contract.

If the ranks reject the pact, Miller's statements that it's the best the union can get will be used against the miners. Carter and the coal companies will claim that even the union leadership

considers the miners' demands "unrealistic."

The coal bosses proceeded in a very different way. They took a hard-nosed attitude from the beginning and didn't concede an inch without screaming as though they were about to be driven bankrupt. So the completely false impression has been fostered that the

present contract offer benefits the miners, not the bosses.

"It seems clear to most people that the union forced the coal operators to give in on almost every demand," wrote New York *Daily News* columnist Jimmy Breslin. He portrayed the miners as completely irrational because "the last thing any of them wanted to hear was that they had won."

Coal miners are well aware of these problems. They know the contract offer comes nowhere near meeting their demands. They feel they have the power to win a decent settlement. But the national union leadership has shown itself unable or unwilling to lead the fight against the coal operators.

Whether the majority of miners vote to accept or reject the contract, their struggle with the coal companies will not be settled. They will continue—as they have done during this strike—discussing and working to develop new policies and a new leadership that can make the UMWA an effective fighting instrument for their needs.

And if the union ranks vote the pact down, a political confrontation will quickly follow in which united labor defense of the miners will be more urgent than ever.

W. Va. miners' meeting rejects pact

By Nancy Cole

CEDAR GROVE, W. Va.—"I've looked it over good. I've studied it. I recommend you study it," said Bobby Best from United Mine Workers Local 1766 here.

"Then send it back to Arnold Miller," Best urged more than 500 miners gathered at the Cedar Grove Medical Center, "and tell him we want the contract mandated by the 1976 convention."

The February 28 meeting here was called by local union leaders to distribute copies of the contract in advance of local meetings later in the week and to urge its rejection.

Strikers attended from six UMWA districts, in addition to this area's District 17.

Miners paged through the contract book and listened to speakers explain it. But many had heard enough already to respond to the

Militant's questions on it with a simple "no" or thumbs-down.

"The best possible way to get a 'stable work force,'" Best said, referring to the coal bosses' demands for a strike-free UMWA, "is to give us a contract we can live with. We can't live with this contract."

Waving the contract book, he continued, "We elected delegates for the 1976 convention and mandated them to come up with contract provisions. I can't find any of them in here."

Best then compared major demands voted by the union convention with the proposed contract clauses.

Several speakers warned that a bad contract would sabotage organizing drives.

"This scab coal versus union coal is fifty-fifty now," said one miner. "It will be seventy-five—twenty-five with this contract after three years,

and we won't be in a position to negotiate a national contract."

The pact's failure to equalize and upgrade pensions is one of the most talked-about issues. "If it is ratified," miner Hayes Holstein told the *Militant*, "the old men aren't going to let us work. They didn't get anything, and they should have."

While union officials were arriving back in Charleston from their Washington contract briefing with predictions of ratification, miners here say they know of few who support it.

"Jay Rockefeller wrote this contract," said one striker outside the meeting. Rockefeller is governor of West Virginia. "I wouldn't vote for him or Arnold Miller again."

As for Carter's threats about the consequences of a "no" vote, E.E. (Buddy) Hicks told the *Militant*, "Thirty cents and Taft-Hartley will buy you a cup of coffee."

New contract terms: what they mean for miners

Summarized below are some major provisions of the contract offer miners are voting on.

The coal operators dropped some of the provisions they had demanded in the February 6 contract proposal (printed in the February 24 *"Militant"*), including:

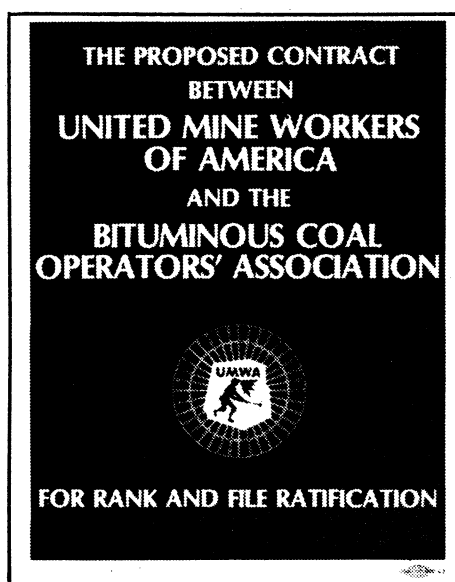
- Sunday work,
- Incentive pay,
- Changes in starting times,
- Probationary period for new employees, and
- Fines and suspension or firing of miners who honor a picket line.

The contract still includes, however, a new section on "Work Force Stability and Industry Development," catering to the employers' demands to crack down on militant miners.

In addition to the provisions listed below, this section institutes an "absenteeism control program" and a "joint UMWA-industry development committee." Both are designed to enlist union aid in disciplining workers and increasing productivity.

Right to strike

No right to strike regardless of provocation by the company.



Any worker who "has picketed or otherwise been actively involved in causing an unauthorized work stoppage or sympathy strike . . . shall be subject to discipline, including discharge."

This gives the companies broad power to victimize workers. Being "actively involved in causing" a wildcat strike could be taken to mean com-

plaining about unsafe conditions or commenting that the mine "deserves to be shut down" over some dispute.

Health benefits

The UMWA health and retirement fund will be liquidated into company-by-company commercial insurance plans. Instead of all medical care being free, miners and their families will have to pay up to \$700 a year.

UMWA fund subsidies to coalfield clinics will be ended, forcing many clinics to close and worsening health care throughout Appalachia.

In addition, health benefits will be cut off after thirty days of a strike unless miners themselves start paying the insurance premiums.

Pensions

Pensions are not raised enough to provide a decent livelihood to UMWA retirees. Nor are pensions equalized for all retired miners as the 1976 UMWA convention demanded.

A big point is made that pensions are "guaranteed." Federal law requires that they be guaranteed regardless of what the contract says.

Wages

Wage increases of one dollar in the

first year and forty cents each in the second and third years.

Cost-of-living adjustment is retained, but only in the second and third years and with a limit of \$.30 an hour each year. Thus the maximum possible wage increase is \$2.40 an hour, or \$.05 more than the February 6 offer.

Safety

The right of union safety committees to shut down any workplace where they believe "imminent danger" exists is retained.

However, language allowing the employer to remove safety committee members who act "arbitrarily or capriciously" is broadened.

Language is added requiring union safety representatives to give "sufficient notice" before inspecting a mine.

Training

The training period for new miners—during which they are restricted from operating dangerous machinery and required to be within sight and sound of another worker—is cut from ninety days to forty-five days.

This means more inexperienced miners will die. And the safety of all miners will be in greater jeopardy.

—Andy Rose

National leadership meets

SWP launches miner solidarity campaign

By John Hawkins

At its February 23-26 meeting in New York, the Socialist Workers Party National Committee voted to mobilize the party's resources nationwide in defense of the striking United Mine Workers of America.

The national committee, elected by the party convention last August, is the highest decision-making body of the SWP between conventions.

The decision to make defense of the miners the party's number-one task reflects the SWP's conviction that the drive by the Carter administration and energy monopolies to break the coal strike is at the center of the capitalist rulers' overall assault on working people today.

The central points of this campaign

were outlined in a statement released by the party's political committee the day before the New York meeting opened:

• To expose the lies and divisive tactics of the energy corporations;

• To help mobilize the broadest possible support for the miners; and

• To draw the lessons of this battle for all working people."

Reporting for the political committee on the party's tasks and perspectives, Larry Seigle pointed out that party members have already had considerable success in carrying out this perspective on the job, in their unions, and on the college campuses.

"Everyone here is no doubt aware from the *Militant* articles," Seigle said, "of the fruitful miners support work we

along with others have been able to do around the tour of a Stearns striker in California.

"In Pittsburgh," he continued, "it was our work in helping to set up a couple of campus-based miners support committees that led to a tour of Stearns strikers, which in turn led to the successful rally in defense of the strikers."

"In addition," said Seigle, "everyone here has been following the successful miners support work of the Morgantown, West Virginia, SWP branch and Young Socialist Alliance chapter."

Coming out of this meeting, Seigle said, SWP branches across the country should step up solidarity with the miners in a number of ways. Most important will be a stepped-up campaign to get out the *Militant*.

"Our goal," said Seigle, "is to get the facts of the miners' situation and our analysis of it into as many workplaces and working-class areas as possible."

"We also want to take our coverage of the strike—the only truly nationwide coverage of it available from the point of view of our class—to the miners themselves. And to do that we have launched a national sales team to travel through the mine fields."

Socialist Workers Party candidates for public office will be campaigning in defense of the coal miners and helping explain to other working people the importance of solidarity with the strike.

Dick McBride, active in Steelworkers

Local 1010 in Chicago, told the meeting, "Most of the people that I get the best response from are young. I'm on the labor gang, and all the labor gangs are nineteen to twenty-five years old— young people who are very open to our ideas."

"The miners' strike has opened up a lot of political discussions in the plant. The strike shook things up. It's forced people to take sides. And anybody with the least bit of class instinct knows that if you don't support the miners, something's wrong with you."

"Out of this discussion we've been able to generate some discussion in the local and have got a committee set up to do miners support work in Local 1010."

Nat Weinstein, a painter from San Francisco, said, "We should do whatever we can to make sure the party mobilizes to its fullest extent to get the *Militant* out into the coalfields."

"We shouldn't underestimate the impact that the paper has. It can have a real impact on events."

"The reason the *Militant* is so effective is that our approach is based on a scientific analysis of the problems miners face and how they can overcome them. And that's backed up with historical articles and analytical articles, like the one on the proposed contract."

"That makes this paper a weapon in the hands of the miners to use against the propaganda from the bourgeois media."



Selling the 'Militant'—key to defending miners' strike

Militant/Gary Mansbach

Socialist candidates back miners' strike

By John Hawkins

As Democratic and Republican party politicians, with the Carter administration in the lead, geared up their efforts to force an industry-dictated settlement down the throats of the United Mine Workers, Socialist Workers Party candidates for office in several states announced plans to throw the weight of their campaigns behind the miners' cause.

Launching her campaign for governor of Michigan at a February 20 Detroit news conference, socialist candidate Robin Mace blasted "the campaign by the government and big corporations to weaken and destroy the United Mine Workers union."

Mace, a member of United Auto Workers Local 900, called for broad labor solidarity with the striking miners. "If the coal operators are successful in their attempt to weaken or break the UMW, other big corporations will be encouraged to do exactly the same thing," she said.

Mace pointed to a Detroit rally in support of the miners organized by United Steelworkers Local 2659 and the solidarity drive by UAW Local 22 as examples that "should be repeated throughout Michigan."

Assailing the governors of the mid-western states for "calling for the use of the strikebreaking Taft-Hartley Act," Mace declared:

"Working people need our own party—a party of labor—that would support us when we need it, by helping to organize solidarity within the labor movement and among all the oppressed and by taking on the capitalist parties, word for word and bill for bill, in defense of our interests."

Mace and her running mates—Florence Robinson for U.S. Senate and Don Bechler for lieutenant governor—will be campaigning at Detroit auto factories getting out the truth about the miners' fight.

Bechler is one of a team of socialists now traveling through West Virginia

to talk socialism with miners and introduce them to the *Militant*.

In New York on February 23 Dianne Feeley, a leader of the Socialist Workers Party and a longtime activist in the women's movement, announced her campaign for governor. Feeley said she and her supporters would be making defense of the miners and New York City municipal workers a central aspect of her campaign.

Campaign supporters are distributing a statement by Feeley, "Defend the Coal Miners!" at workplaces throughout the city and are organizing a tour of area campuses for her.

In Ohio, supporters of the SWP candidates for governor and lieutenant governor, Pat Wright and John Gaige, have been campaigning among miners.

One team of supporters that went to New Lexington, Ohio, met a number of



Michigan Socialist Workers Party candidates, Don Bechler, lieutenant governor; Florence Robinson, U.S. Senate; Robin Mace, governor.

miners interested in the candidates and their opposition to the strike-breaking policies of Ohio Gov. James Rhodes.

One of the miners invited the campaigners to return for a public meeting. Gaige will be speaking to a meeting of miners in New Lexington March 4.

Louisville socialist on television

The following statement by Jim Burfeind of the Louisville Socialist Workers Party was broadcast three times over that city's WHAS television and twice over WHAS radio February 23.

Burfeind answered the station's editorial the week before that had called for "strong action" by President Carter against striking coal miners, including "jail or fines under a Taft-Hartley Back-To-Work Order."

During the television broadcasts of Burfeind's reply a photograph was flashed on the screen showing miners picketing Kentucky Gov. Julian Carroll with signs hitting the role of the Democratic Party. In addition the address and phone

number of the Louisville SWP branch were displayed.

Burfeind, who works in a tool and die shop at the General Electric plant in Louisville, told the *Militant* that when the reply was broadcast on the radio that evening his co-workers all stopped work to listen.

As a socialist and a union member at General Electric, I'd say your editorial last week missed the mark when you put the blame for the coal crisis on striking miners.

The United Mine Workers of America Bargaining Council has refused to accept a contract that would have meant more deaths and maiming for mine workers. Mine workers continue to be injured at a rate three times that of any other industry.

They refused to give up their right to strike. Without that right, mine-owners will continue to break mine safety laws and violate the miners' contract.

The Carter administration's threats to impose a settlement on the UMW should be seen as a threat to the entire labor movement. A defeat for the UMW would set a dangerous precedent against the right to strike, against decent health and safety protection, against secure pensions, and against the struggle for union democracy.

For the huge mining conglomerates, millions of dollars in profit are at stake. But for the miners, it's a matter of life and death. The miners' struggle is a just one. They deserve the support of all working people.

Coal miners: 'We're fighting for our lives'

W. Va.: 'No one in Congress stands up for miners'

By Tom O'Hara

MORGANTOWN, W. Va.—The stern determination that has characterized United Mine Workers members since they began their strike continues here despite growing hardships and pressure from the coal companies and the Carter administration.

Buzz Tancoft, a supply man at Consolidation's Arkwright mine, and his wife Mary were concerned, but not intimidated, by word of utility cutoff and food stamp cancellations. "We've got bill payments going out and five kids to feed," said Mary, "but we've made it before and we'll make it again, food stamps or no food stamps."

For Buzz Tancoft the miners' fight for safety enforced at the union level is important. A couple of years ago he was working with two other men when a fine stream of dust began to trickle from the top of the tunnel. His two buddies instantly ran for safety, but Buzz, having looked up for a second, was caught in the roof fall. "I was busted up pretty bad for a while," said Buzz.

Gary Fleming, a mechanic at Consolidation Coal's Love Ridge mine, talked to the *Militant* about the demand for the right to strike to enforce mine safety regulations and defend job security. "I'd like to get to where grievances could be settled without a strike. But the companies make that impossible," he explained.

The role of the Carter administration brought out some of the sharpest responses.

On Carter's threats of a government take-over of the mines Fleming said, "The government doesn't want to run the mines. They just want us back underground mining coal. Then they'll give the mines back to the companies."

Mary Tancoft was quick to add, "The companies don't want their books opened. They're afraid we'll see how much money they make and how much cheating they do. I'd like to see 'em open those books."

"We'd have been better off if the government had stayed out of it. They're trying to push miners into an agreement we don't want," said Buzz. "There's probably a lot of things in that contract that the miners don't know about yet. We'd better read it carefully."

"Carter toured the coalfields during his campaign," said Mary with contempt. "And he talked real nice to miners. But now he talks like he's been with the companies all along."

When asked about the so-called friends of labor in Congress, Buzz answered, "I don't know about them; I haven't seen them yet. None of them stand up for the miners."

"We don't have money, so we don't have any real representation," said Fleming. "Working people are always going to be working people. The rich man is always going to try to keep the poor man poor. Take [West Virginia] Governor Rockefeller—he's a billionaire. He owns a few of those coal mines. He's not for us. He's for himself."

"High officials and politicians might be willing to take the guided tour of the mines, but they wouldn't work there every day like us. They wouldn't face that danger. It's not safe enough for them, but it's supposed to be safe enough for us."

"They try to say we're not important. Or that we're dumb. But all we did was stop working and they all started screaming, 'national emergency.'"

"We are fighting for our lives and for our kids," Fleming explained. "Look at the steel mills and the steelworkers. A lot of those steel mills are gone today. And a lot of steelworkers are out of a job. Well, we're going to fight to keep our jobs and our lives."

Ala.: 'Coal operators are rotten as dirt'

By Mary Martin

JASPER, Ala.—Striking coal miners here in the heart of United Mine Workers District 20 have adopted a wait-and-see attitude toward the new contract proposed by President Carter.

One Jasper miner said safety, retirement, and health were his chief concerns. Until the contract adequately answered these needs he would stay out, even if it meant "wearing holes in my shoes and losing my home."

A miner who had retired after 1974 said he opposed the lower pensions for miners retiring before that date. "I wouldn't blame them if they set up a picket line at the mine if a contract with such provisions were ratified. And if they picket, working miners will respect their picket line. I know I would if I were still working."

A Black miner in nearby Alden community told the *Militant*: "The coal operators are rotten, just as rotten as dirt. They follow safety regulations only when they have no choice."

According to three Jasper miners, Alabama state troopers are carrying out a campaign of intimidation against the strikers. State troopers follow miners in their cars, stop them, and interrogate them.

One miner said, "The coal miners have supported George Wallace in every election he was ever in. Walker County was his bread and butter. We pooled money for him, went to other states to campaign for him."

"At that time Wallace called coal miners a real fine bunch of people," the miner continued. "Now to hear him, we're a bunch of radicals."

Another man said, "The truth is, the state government is just antilabor."

One miner blasted AFL-CIO President George Meany, who has called for government intervention to break the strike. "He forgot his debt to the UMWA, like a child that grows up, leaves home, and forgets his raising."

Pa. students build support for miners

By John Harris and Bob Hill

STATE COLLEGE, Pa.—Students, faculty, and trade unionists here have formed the UMWA Strike Support Committee of Central Pennsylvania to publicize the facts about the current coal strike and to collect donations for the miners and their families.

Formed in mid-January, on the Pennsylvania State University campus, the committee obtained the documentary film *Harlan County, U.S.A.* to help raise funds and provide information about the plight of the miners. More than 350 students turned out for several showings of the film.

Encouraged by this initial success, the committee showed the film in the nearby mining town of Barnesboro. Nearly 200 local residents, mostly miners and their families, warmly identified with the never-say-die unionism of the Harlan County strikers.

Shortly after, the miners in Barnesboro formed a local strike support committee, which has since raised more than \$500.

Back at the Penn State campus in State College, the strike support committee has collected \$300 through street-corner fund raising. The committee countered one-sided reporting of the strike by the capitalist media with a series of informational leaflets explaining the issues in the strike and the need for solidarity with the miners.

On February 10, the committee sent \$500 to the UMWA District 2 office—the first outside funds received by miners there.

Organizations participating in the strike support committee include: the Young Socialist Alliance; the Penn State Society of Student Social Workers; the Penn State Labor Studies

Club; Local 1203B of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; and Hospital Employees Union 1199P (AFL-CIO).

Ohio: 'Working class is on our side'

By Jeff Powers

NEW LEXINGTON, Ohio—Miner after miner here in southeastern Ohio told the *Militant* they have sacrificed a great deal during the UMWA strike. But they are not afraid to stay out longer to get what they want.

Bill Ellis, a twenty-five-year-old miner here, said the first contract offer, which the UMWA Bargaining Council rejected, might have been good "thirty years ago," but it didn't even come close to what miners have already been getting.

Important issues for Ellis are working conditions and the right to strike. "Everybody wants a raise, but you just can't make it without a health card," he said. "Conditions in my mine are not as bad as some I have heard of," he added, but he knew two miners who were killed there last year.

Asked whether or not he would vote for the proposed new contract, Ellis said he would have to read it first before deciding. "I don't want to continue the strike, but if I have to, I will," he said. "If it doesn't include the right to strike? Yes, I would definitely say I would vote against it."

Life hasn't been easy without strike benefits. Ellis has spent all the money he had saved to buy a house. He also picked up a few odd jobs.

"I think the common working people, the working class, is on our side," he told the *Militant*. "The strike is not our fault. It's the operators'. Anybody who doesn't support us should have to spend just one day in the mines."

Ky.: 'We have no choice but to keep fighting'

By Jim Burfeind

PRESTONBURG, Ky.—"This has been a long strike. We might as well get what we want. I can hold out another year." This is what Frank Goebel, a striking miner from Johnson County, Kentucky, told this *Militant* sales and reporting team.

Many miners and their families here in eastern Kentucky expressed a strong desire to go back to work. They felt even stronger about getting a good contract.

Thelma Karosky of Prestonburg said she thought the companies were trying to smash the union. "Miners are like wet rats trapped. We're going to fight. We don't have any choice but to keep fighting," she said.

Karosky is the wife of a retired miner. She, like many others, thought the new contract would be defeated because it doesn't substantially raise the pensions for miners who retired before 1974.

Now and then on the roads and paths to small nonunion mines guards and carloads of cops appeared. Miners in Garrett, Kentucky, said that on February 24 several dozen police and railroad security guards had been used to move a few carloads of coal.



Miners' demonstration in Pittsburgh last month

Militant/Nancy Cole

1,000 back UMW at S.F. labor rally

By Rich Stuart

SAN FRANCISCO—In a powerful show of labor solidarity, more than 1,000 trade unionists and other supporters of the United Mine Workers rallied here at the Plumbers Hall on February 24.

The rally took place only hours after President Carter appeared on national television to demand that miners ratify a proposed settlement of the strike.

"If you want to know how I feel as a coal miner about this settlement announced tonight in D.C., I'll tell you right now," said featured speaker Darrell Vanover, a striking miner from Stearns, Kentucky. "I don't think it's worth a damn."

The overflow crowd cheered as Vanover declared, "Like the song says, 'Take it and shove it.' That's more or less what I'll tell President Carter."

"I've traveled the country over on a platform of labor unity," he told the rally. "If each and every working person got together in solidarity, we'd have 90 percent of the population in this country, and the other 10 percent that don't believe we've been penalized enough, we'd be able to deal with them too."

United labor action was the theme of the entire meeting.



Stearns striker Darrell Vanover

The rally, sponsored by the Miners' Strike Labor/Community Support Coalition, brought together unionists from cities throughout the Bay Area. Support resolutions and contributions were received from steelworkers, auto workers, transit workers, Teamsters, longshore workers, printers, construc-

tion workers, department store employees, as well as other unions, students, and community groups.

More than \$6,000 was raised at the rally for the striking miners. The mood of the crowd was expressed by James Herman, president of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, who said:

"For too many years miners have been assigned the most hazardous jobs in impossible working conditions with total disregard for health and safety. The right of workers in the mines anywhere to lay down their tools to save their lives has to be preserved."

"If they try mining coal with bayonets, or visit harm on any miner, there will be action here and throughout the country. There will be new dimensions of struggle."

Herman's remarks were echoed by Walter Johnson, president of Retail Clerks Local 1100, when he said, "We aren't going to stand and let mine workers suffer. . . . A contract can't be dictated from anybody, whether it be the president of the United States or anybody on down."

Johnson and Herman are the co-chairpersons of the strike support coalition.

Other speakers at the rally included

John Crowley, secretary of the San Francisco Labor Council; Harry Bridges, retired president of the ILWU; Joseph Gonzalez, financial secretary-treasurer of United Auto Workers Local 560; Larry Martin, president of the Transport Workers Union Local 250A; and Reeve Olson of the Office and Professional Employees International Union and the Coalition of Labor Union Women. Entertainment was provided by Country Joe McDonald and the San Francisco Mime Troop.

Speaking with Vanover was Mike Burdiss, deputy director of the United Mine Workers Legislative Committee.

Referring to Carter's proposed contract, Burdiss said, "This so-called tentative agreement will punish miners for wildcat strikes. Well, I have been one of those people who have been on wildcat strikes, and I feel confident that the miners will look this over and send it back to the White House."

Several hundred students and unionists also heard Vanover at meetings organized during the week at San Jose State University, San Francisco State University, University of California at Berkeley, and at the International Association of Machinists hall in Oakland.

UAW Local 216 hosts L.A. rally for miners

By Jack Sheppard

LOS ANGELES—Four hundred people rose and applauded February 22 as Mike Burdiss vowed that "the miners won't go back to work under Taft-Hartley."

Burdiss, the deputy director of the United Mine Workers Legislative Committee, was one of the speakers at a rally here in support of the striking coal miners.

"It's solidarity among the other unions in meetings like this that gives us the strength to continue," Burdiss said.

David Arian, president of the Southern California District Council of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, told the crowd:

"The right to strike is the only thing that can make the employers honest. If the miners are defeated around this question, it will be a big defeat for us all."

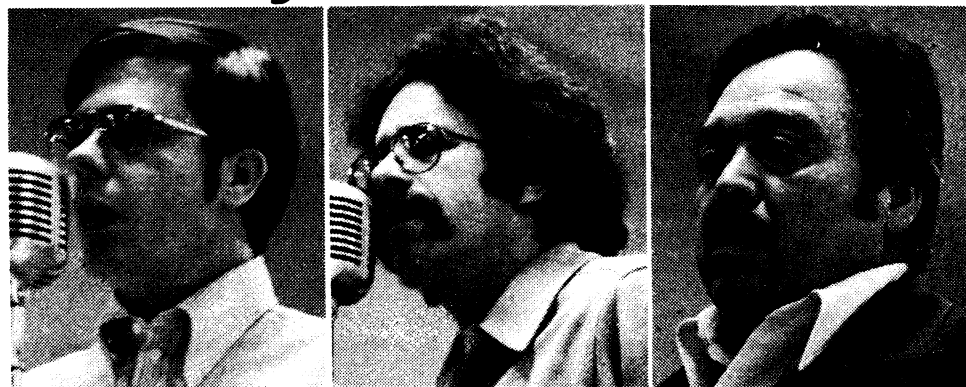
Held in the United Auto Workers Local 216 hall, the meeting was sponsored by Andy Anderson, president of United Steelworkers of America Local 1845; Bob Johnson, president of USWA Local 5504; Collin Lai, financial secretary-treasurer of UAW Local 216; UAW Local 216; and Service Employees International Union Local 535. Also endorsing were Robert Petris, director of USWA District 38, and Jerry Wipple, director of UAW Region 6.

At the rally, David Jerome, from

USWA Local 2018, explained that the sponsors of the event had agreed to form an Ad Hoc Coal Miners Support Committee. "Our committee pledges to stay organized and fighting for the duration of the strike," Jerome said. He encouraged all those present to join with the committee in carrying out further strike support activities.

The rally capped a two-day tour of the Los Angeles area by Darrell Vanover, one of the coal miners involved in the Stearns, Kentucky, strike for union recognition. He spoke about the issues in the strike in numerous TV and radio

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Broad labor meeting heard (left to right) Mike Burdiss, UMW; David Arian, Longshore union; and Manuel Sierras, international staff representative of Steelworkers.

Maoists disrupt collection for strikers

LOS ANGELES—One of the high points of the Los Angeles tour of Stearns striker Darrell Vanover was a plant-gate collection organized in behalf of the Stearns miners by UAW Local 216 at the large General Motors plant in Southgate. More than \$1,700 was contributed by auto workers during the shift change.

However, the collection was marred by an attempt to disrupt it carried out by the Miners Right to Strike Committee/National United Workers Organization, a group that is led by members of the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP).

At an earlier organizing meeting for the tour, RCP members proposed that "all money raised in the [Vanover] tour be given to the Right to Strike Committee instead of the Miller machine," referring to UMW President Arnold Miller.

Others at the meeting pointed out that all money raised would be divided between the UMW Relief Fund and the Stearns Relief Fund, and would not be used for administrative expenses. The RCP motion was defeated by a vote of about forty to three.

Nevertheless, when Local 216 shop stewards began the plant-gate collec-

tion February 21, about twelve people from the Right to Strike Committee turned out and tried to conduct a counter-collection.

Shouting "Don't give to the Miller bureaucrats," and, "Their collection will never get to the rank and file," the disrupters tried to sabotage the collection. They were answered and out-shouted by the UAW shop stewards, and only collected small change. But the sectarian, provocative tactics of the Right to Strike Committee and the RCP damage working-class solidarity and have no place in the movement to defend the miners.

Baltimore unions set solidarity meeting

By Norton Sandler

BALTIMORE—A broad list of trade unions here has called a support rally for the United Mine Workers' strike on Sunday, March 5. The rally begins at 2 p.m. at Steelworkers Hall, near Bethlehem Steel's Sparrows Point plant.

Featured speakers at the meeting are striking miners from Stearns and Harlan, Kentucky; Appalachian singer Hazel Dickens; Rep. Parren Mitchell, chairperson of the Congressional Black Caucus; UMW Vice-president Sam Church; and Rev. Chester Wickwire, chaplain of Johns Hopkins University.

Labor endorsement for the rally includes United Steelworkers locals 2610,

2609, 14019, 6759, and 8053; Shipbuilders union; Transit Workers Local 1300; American Federation of Teachers Local 340; American Federation of Government Employees Local 1923; Bricklayers Local 1; Distillery Workers Local 36; and District 12 of the International Machinists.

The rally's purpose is to build solidarity with the miners and to collect money, food, and clothing for strikers in nearby areas.

A planning meeting was held February 23 at Steelworkers Local 2610 hall, initiated by the presidents of five Steelworkers locals, to hear UMW representatives.

The meeting had been called by David Wilson, president of USWA

Local 2609; Glenn Libertino, president of Local 8053 at Diamond Shamrock Corporation; Joseph Hayes, president of Local 6759 at Environmental Elements Division of Koppers Incorporated; Clarence Hicks, president of Local 14019 at Glidden Pigments; and Joseph Kotelchuck, president of Bethlehem Steel Local 2610.

Both Wilson and Hicks had spoken before the Central Labor Council at its February 16 meeting, when a resolution was unanimously adopted supporting the United Mine Workers and demanding no government intervention through the use of the Taft-Hartley Act.

At a news reception preceding the

Continued on page 26

Workers at Mo. steel plant back coal miners

By Tim Kaminsky and Bob Allen

MARSTON, Mo.—Three hundred fifty members of Steelworkers Local 7686 at Noranda Aluminum Plant here have become what they jokingly refer to as "Missouri's first casualties" of the coal strike.

The entire work force at Noranda Aluminum's reduction facility was laid off February 15.

Despite temporarily losing their jobs, these steelworkers in rural southeastern Missouri strongly support the miners. "They're in the same boat we are. All they have is their labor to sell," said James Winn, a laid-off crane operator.

Militant reporters asked Floyd Helton, chief shop steward of the local, his opinion of the miners' strike.

"I hold no animosity towards the coal miners," he replied. "So I'm out of work. I'll find a job digging a ditch, or I'll go on welfare. It's just a matter of being a good union-oriented person."

The workers at Noranda Aluminum got one shift's notice of the layoffs, which may last for a long time. Even if the strike were settled immediately, the company could not have its reduction facility operating for fifty days. Nevertheless, workers who gathered at the union office stood behind the miners 100 percent. "You maybe get mad because you lose your job, but in your heart you know you'd do the same thing as the coal miners," said Helton.

When asked about President Carter's threat to use the Taft-Hartley Act against the coal miners, Helton told the *Militant*, "With the coal miners I don't think it will have a bit of an effect. It might put some of them back to work, but they wouldn't produce. There may be some of them fired. You know what they'll do. I know what I would do. I would push for a wildcat until we got all those people back to work. So what has [the government] accomplished?"

Helton stressed the importance of labor solidarity. "Down here we're pretty solid. The past three union meetings, we've voted to send \$200 to the Hussman local." St. Louis steelworkers have been on strike against Hussman refrigeration for nine months.

In nearby St. Louis, Mayor Conway hopes to destroy such solidarity with his proposed "energy saving program." He wants to cut back one-half the street lighting, close all recreation centers at night, and cut out all advertisement lighting.

By these tactics city officials are trying to set other working people against the miners and their strike. But they are not succeeding.

Helton stressed that more unions should come to the aid of the miners. "There should be more actions like the miners' demonstration in Washington," he said. "Just look at what the civil rights movement was able to do."

Determination paid off

How the British miners won

By David Frankel

What if striking members of the United Mine Workers of America reject the contract the Carter administration is trying to shove down their throats? Carter threatens to order the miners back to work, and even to seize the mines, if they don't accept a contract on his terms.

Four years ago, miners in Britain faced a similar attack—and defeated it.

The struggle of the 270,000 British coal miners, organized in the National Union of Mineworkers, began on November 12, 1973, when the NUM declared a ban on all overtime work. Coal output was cut by 30 to 40 percent. The highest-paid underground miners in the NUM were making less than \$100 a week, and the union was demanding raises averaging 33 percent.

Prime Minister Edward Heath, leader of the Conservative Party, insisted that the demands of the miners, which violated his government's wage control program, were "inflationary." The day after the overtime ban went into effect, Heath declared a "state of emergency," his first step in trying to whip up a scare campaign against the miners.

When the miners held tough, Heath upped the ante. On December 13, 1973, he ordered two-thirds of British industry onto a three-day workweek, forcing wage cuts and part-time employment on 16 million workers. As the London *Sunday Times* put it, Heath was trying to force the miners "to submit to an accumulation of pressure from fellow workers faced with the dole."

By January 9, 1974, nearly one million workers had been laid off their jobs, and millions more were suffering pay cuts of up to 40 percent. Under pressure from the ranks, the NUM leadership scheduled a January 31 vote on whether to close down the mines altogether.

The Tory government intensified its threats. "Police forces will have thousands of men available to deal with any picketing trouble if the miners vote for a strike," Peter Chippindale reported in the January 28, 1974, issue of the British daily *Guardian*.

"Mobile police squads will be ready to deal with mobile pickets; hundreds

Solidarity message from British miners

The following message of solidarity with the United Mine Workers' strike was released on January 29 by the national officers of the British National Union of Mineworkers.

The British Miners express their whole-hearted support and solidarity with their American colleagues, and the N.U.M. have asked the United Mine Workers of America what help and assistance they can give to them in their struggle to reduce health and safety hazards in the mines and for improvements in pay and conditions.

The 160,000 members of the United Mine Workers of America, employed in the United States bituminous coal industry, have been on strike since the 6th December 1977, when their three years contract expired: at which time the employers had offered no wage increase, but had put forward proposals which would have destroyed the health and retirement benefit funds, force the UMWA to act as a strike-breaker against its own members, and severely punish workers who took part in any strike or were absent from

work for even one day without the employers' authorisation.

In the past 10 years the U.S. Coal Miners' hourly wage rates have increased by 160%, whilst car workers rates rose by 246% and steel workers by 234.9%. During those 10 years 2,000 U.S. Mine Workers were killed, emphasising that it is the most dangerous occupation. Coal prices in the United States increased from 4.99 Dollars per ton in 1969 to 21.50 Dollars per ton in 1977. However, labour costs per ton represented 53.5% in 1969 and are now only 35%. Profits per ton have shown great increases during this period.

As the President of the United Mine Workers of America said, the time has come for the increasing wealth of the coal industry to be reflected in the lives of the men and women who make that wealth possible—those who take the risks necessary to produce coal.

The British Mineworkers are solidly behind the American Miners and are ready to support them fully in their efforts to achieve their rightful objectives.

J. GORMLEY, President
M. McGAHEY, Vice-President
L. DALY, Secretary

of men will be available to converge on potential trouble spots; and a centralised intelligence unit has been set up at Scotland Yard to act as a clearing house for provincial forces and give early warning of unrest which may turn into violence."

But the government's threats only stiffened the determination of the miners. Eighty-one percent of them voted to strike.

As one Welsh miner said: "If Ted Heath would come to our colliery, I would take him by the arm and show [how] we work. We would go down the

pit and walk two miles to the coalface, crouching because of the low roof. His eyes would sting with the dust and he would think his brain was coming loose with the noise of the drills. He would see us eat sandwiches with filthy hands and hear about roof falls and he would get tired just watching us dig coal for seven hours in all that din and muck."

From the point of view of the British ruling class, however, more important things than mere justice were involved. Conservative Party Chairman Lord Carrington explained in a New Year's statement that "giving way would encourage militancy. We have to prove once and for all, that extremism doesn't pay."

But militancy did pay. Faced with the determination of the miners, and growing support for their struggle both in Britain and around the world, Heath played his last card. On February 7 he dissolved Parliament and called an election.

In a red-baiting television speech, Heath declared: "There are some people involved in the mining dispute who have made it clear that what they want is to bring down the elected government—not just this government but any government. . . . The great majority of you are fed up to the teeth with them and with the disruption they cause."

On February 28, 1974, the British people gave Heath his answer. The Tory party went from a majority of 323 seats in Parliament to 296. The miners had indeed brought down the government.

Less than a week after Harold Wilson formed the new Labour government in Britain, the miners' strike was settled. The NUM won a 35 percent wage increase; the three-day workweek was ended; the four-month-old state of emergency was revoked; and a freeze was imposed on residential rents for the remainder of the year.

The British ruling class found that it had bitten off more than it could chew—and the coal operators and their government here in the United States may yet find the same thing in the current miners' strike.



British miners refused to back down in face of government threats, red-baiting, and an artificially produced 'energy crisis.'

'This paper tells the mine workers' side'

By Nelson Blackstock

"Does that paper tell both sides of the story?" the nurse asked.

"No," came the reply. "It tells the miners' side."

"Good. I'll buy several. The patients here will be happy to see something like this."

Miners Hospital is just what the name says. It's in the small town of Raton, New Mexico. The *Militant* sales team from Albuquerque that visited the hospital was one of several dispatched to coal mining areas across the country in recent days.

These teams are part of an all-out push to get out the *Militant*, the paper

that tells the truth about the coal strike.

The aim is to reach thousands of new readers with the miners' side of the story.

The six branches of the Socialist Workers Party in New York City mapped out a week-long effort to sell 1,000 of the March 3 issue.

It began with a city-wide meeting on February 23. There SWP members heard a report on the current stage of the miners' fight and laid plans for the sales campaign.

Coordinating sales is Gale Shangold. "We wanted to get the paper out as widely as possible," she said. "But our first priority was plant-gate sales.

"That meant first of all stepping up sales we were already doing: Instead of going to the Brooklyn navy yard twice a week, we're going every morning. We've scheduled more sales at steel plants, hospitals, and other work places in the area.

"We'll send a team to the big auto plant in Tarrytown, New York, a place we now plan to visit more frequently."

At the same time, socialists who work at the navy yard and elsewhere will be taking bundles of the paper to work with them.

"We have a list of union meetings around town during the week," Shangold continued, "and we are taking steps to get the *Militant* to them.

"On top of this, *Militant* sales teams are hitting campuses around the city. The Young Socialist Alliance is working with the SWP in this project, and both groups are sending members to the campuses."

Meanwhile, the national *Militant* sales team in West Virginia sold more than forty subscriptions in less than a week.

Cleveland socialists dispatched three teams to Ohio mining areas the week-end of February 25-26. Forty papers were sold by five of the team members.

Louisville sent a team to the mine fields of eastern Kentucky. In two days the two team members sold more than seventy papers.

Atlanta socialists sent a team to

Birmingham. They plan to return when the big meetings are held to discuss and vote on the contract.

You can help get 'Militants' to coalfields

I want to help put full-time 'Militant' sales teams on the road in coal mining areas. Here's my contribution of \$ _____

FREE—with each contribution of \$25 or more—Art Preis's *Labor's Giant Step*. This 538-page book tells the story of the working class's heroic struggle to build the CIO in the 1930s and 1940s, including the miners' crucial role.

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Militant Circulation Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

'Perspectiva Mundial' sales

The March 13 issue of *Perspectiva Mundial*, Spanish-language sister publication of the *Militant*, features on-the-spot reports and political analysis of the miners' strike.

Members of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance are making a special effort to take this issue to Spanish-speaking miners in the coalfields of the Southwest and to Spanish-speaking workers and students throughout the country.

You can help get out this special issue. Order single copies (50¢ each) or bundles (35¢ per copy) from *Perspectiva Mundial*, P.O. Box 314, Village Station, New York, New York 10014.



Stalinists & coal strike: which side are you on?

By Andy Rose

On the front page of its February 24 issue, the Communist Party's *Daily World* newspaper boasts, "no finer service to the embattled coal miners [has] been rendered than by the *Daily World*."

But when miners and other workers read what's inside the paper, they may wonder just who the *Daily World* is serving.

On page 2, under the misleading headline, "UMW board member calls for unity against attacks," the CP paper applauds a slanderous denunciation of rank-and-file strikers as "traitors."

The *Daily World* story reports favorably on a news conference by John Chach, an official of United Mine Workers District 5 in western Pennsylvania.

"There are a few of our members who are bitter because of election defeats both in District 5 and in the International Union," Chach asserted. "They are now trying to use our present strike and resulting problems as a platform for their selfish political aims. Now is not the time to desert our leaders or call for resignations. . . ."

"Those who would depart from our tradition of complete unity during the national strike are traitors," he declared.

What is Chach talking about?

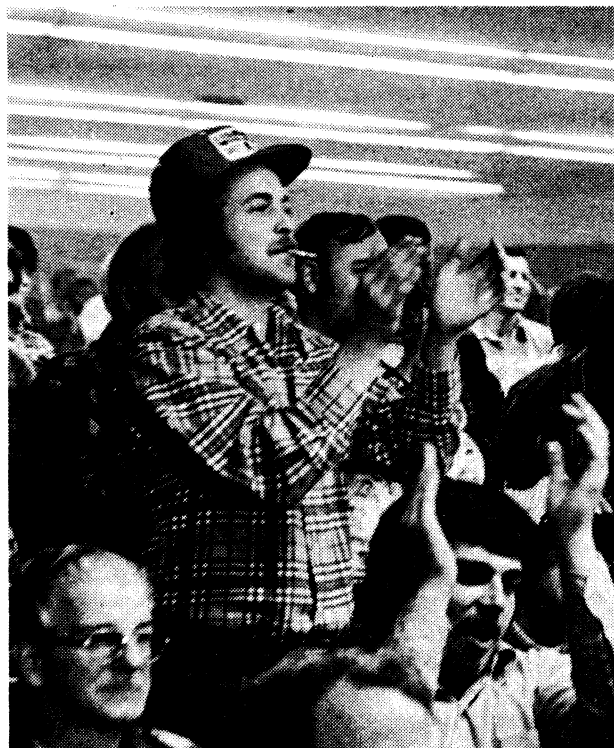
The news conference was the response of top District 5 officials to a locally initiated mass strike meeting held February 18 in Belle Vernon, Pennsylvania. More than 2,000 District 5 miners took part in the meeting to voice their anger against the coal industry's demands and President Carter's strike-breaking threats.

They were also none too happy with the performance of some of their top union officers, including UMWA President Arnold Miller and District 5 President Lou Antal. The meeting voted unanimously to call for Miller's resignation.

What provoked the miners' anger was not "selfish political aims" but the fact that Antal and Miller voted for the coal bosses' February 6 contract offer. This industry-dictated settlement would have slashed medical benefits, gutted the power of union safety committees, eliminated cost-of-living pay increases, introduced "incentive pay" speedup, and allowed the companies to fire miners for honoring a picket line.

Miners at the Belle Vernon rally were not "deserting their leaders," as Chach implied—some of their leaders had deserted them.

Two days before the Pennsylvania meeting, a



Militant/Nancy Cole
Striking miners rally in Pennsylvania. CP's 'Daily World' calls them 'traitors.'

similar strike rally drew 3,000 miners in Fairmont, West Virginia. Both meetings were reported in last week's *Militant*.

The *Daily World* did not carry news of either one, even though it had reporters present. Instead it chose to print Chach's slanders.

This is not a question of being "objective" or giving "both sides"—the *Daily World* offered the local UMWA leaders who organized the rally no chance to respond. The Communist Party's biased coverage was clearly intended to endorse the attack on the meeting.

Nor was this particular article an accident. It fits into a pattern of the CP's attitude toward the strike.

The *Daily World* has had practically nothing at all to say about the rank-and-file upsurge that swept the coalfields after Miller accepted the bosses' contract. The *Militant* and the Socialist Workers Party, on the other hand, saw in these mass meetings one of the most inspiring and significant developments of the strike.

Miners had an open microphone so that all could express their views on the contract and what should be done. They insisted on their right to read, discuss, and decide on any settlement—and to hold union officers accountable to the ranks.

The miners exposed Carter's antilabor role and showed the tremendous power of united working-class action.

But when the Communist Party Stalinists say "unity," they have something very different in mind. They mean uncritical approval of anything said or done by union officials they support, such as Antal and Miller.

To assert that free discussion of union policy harms "unity" and that anyone who criticizes the leadership is a "traitor"—these arguments are the last refuge of every demagogic bureaucrat. The Stalinists have had plenty of practice using such arguments to defend the bureaucratic misleadership of the Soviet Union.

In the American labor movement, the CP puts its hope not in the mobilization and democratic organization of the rank and file but in an alliance with some "progressive" section of the union hierarchy—like the cozy relations it enjoyed with top CIO officials during World War II.

At that time the Stalinists were open advocates of the wartime wage freeze, no-strike pledge, and speedup. When coal miners struck in 1943, the CP denounced UMWA President John L. Lewis as aiding Hitler. CP leaders, including Louis Budenz, editor of the *Daily Worker*, went into the coalfields to try to spark a back-to-work movement. The CP played a similarly treacherous role against the 1946 coal strike, which first won health benefits and pensions for miners.

In light of the Stalinists' history, it should come as no surprise that in a February 23 story the *Daily World* gives backhanded support to federal seizure of the mines. It approvingly quotes a retired UMWA official as saying, "Back in World War II during the takeover the Federal government did good work setting up the UMW Health and Welfare Fund. . . ."

But Truman didn't "set up" the benefits fund—he was forced to concede it by mass struggles of the miners. The ranks of the UMWA proved then that they could stand up to both government strike-breaking and Stalinist backstabbing. They're showing the same kind of determination today.

Marroquin opens national tour in Texas

By Marta Nyakouri

SAN ANTONIO—Héctor Marroquín, a Mexican socialist seeking political asylum in the United States, took his case to the American public here February 14-17 as he began a speaking tour that will take him across the country.

As the tour began, Marroquín won a significant victory. Originally, the INS had said they would look at Marroquín's itinerary every other week and decide then if he could continue the tour. But under heavy public pressure, INS District Director Joe Staley has agreed that Marroquín can continue the tour as long as INS is kept informed of the itinerary in advance.

Margaret Winter, one of Marroquín's attorneys, called the new arrangement "an important concession."

Ironically, Marroquín's first speaking engagement was at St. Mary's University, the alma mater of Leonel Castillo, director of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). The INS is trying to deport Marroquín back to Mexico.

"In 1974 I was a student and political activist at the University of Nuevo León in Monterrey," Marroquín told a crowd at St. Mary's, "when I read in the newspaper that I was accused, along with four others, of assassinating a librarian. I was advised by an attorney not to turn myself in because the police chief in Monterrey was infamous for his brutality. I am innocent of this crime and every other.

"But because I could not get a fair trial, I fled my country in 1974 and, like millions of Mexicans, came to live in this country without papers."



Militant/Miguel Pendás

ROSARIO IBARRA DE PIEDRA

Aptheker, Williams, Kunstler endorse



New endorsers of Héctor Marroquín's right to political asylum in the United States include Herbert Aptheker, American Institute for Marxist Studies (left, above); Black activist Robert F. Williams (center); and attorney William Kunstler (right). Among other new endorsers are: Clyde Bellecourt, American Indian Movement; Minnesota State Sen. Allan Spear; Lawrence Ferlinghetti, City Lights Books;



Arthur Griffiths, Jr., Woodrow Wilson Center, Washington, D.C.; Nat Hentoff; and Daniel Berrigan.

In addition, the board of directors of the San Francisco chapter of the National Organization for Women adopted a resolution February 7 calling on the U.S. government to grant Marroquín asylum.

In the United States, Marroquín participated in a Teamsters organizing drive at the Coca-Cola bottling plant where he worked in Houston. He was also active in the movement against deportations of undocumented workers. He is a member of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

"If I win this case, it will set an important legal precedent for refugees from other countries seeking asylum here," Marroquín said.

An important part of Marroquín's appearances in San Antonio was the presence of Rosario Ibarra de Piedra, who shared the platform with him at three meetings.

Ibarra de Piedra is a founder of a Monterrey-based committee set up to defend political prisoners, prisoners who have "disappeared" after arrest, and exiles. The group aims to win a general amnesty for Mexican political prisoners.

Ibarra de Piedra's own son, Jesús Piedra Ibarra, was accused with Marroquín of murdering the librarian in January 1974. In April 1975 he was captured by the Mexican police and has not been heard from since.

While in San Antonio, Marroquín

appeared in the popular Spanish-language television program, "En San Antonio." He was also interviewed by the *Chicano Times/Westsider*, a Chicano community newspaper, and the student paper at predominantly Chicano Our Lady of the Lake University.

On February 17, Marroquín spoke at Our Lady of the Lake to a meeting of some sixty people. Also speaking were Sister Gregorio Ortega of Las Hermanas, an organization of Hispanic nuns; Bill Pridgeon of the American Civil Liberties Union; Carlos Rossa of the Mexican-American Cultural Center; and David Riojas, a paralegal worker from Eagle Pass, Texas.

At the University of Texas at Austin, Marroquín's speech was sponsored by six campus groups, including the New American Movement and the Committee for Human Rights in Chile. He was introduced by Prof. Armando Gutiérrez, a leader of the Raza Unida Party and head of the Chicano Legal Defense Fund.

Marroquín also spoke at the University of Texas in San Antonio and Trinity University.

DALLAS—Héctor Marroquín made four speeches here in a four-day tour February 18-21.

At a meeting at a Chicano community center, Marroquín spoke along with Rich Fantroy, head of the Oliver Lee Davis Defense Committee; David Savage, a community activist; and Tim Schadden, of the Marroquín Defense Committee. Greetings were received from Joe Landin, a leader of Committee for Justice, a Chicano group, and the Student Bar Association of Southern Methodist University.

On February 21, Marroquín addressed a group of fifty people at SMU. His appearance was cosponsored by several campus groups, which combined to give a \$500 contribution to the Marroquín Defense Committee. Marroquín's supporters plastered the campus with posters advertising his talk. The posters read, "The U.S. government wants to deport the political refugee Héctor Marroquín to Mexico. In Mexico he doesn't stand a chance. Let him tell you why."

Marroquín also spoke at the University of Texas at Arlington and at El Centro Community College.

Tour schedule

By Arnold Weissberg

Héctor Marroquín's supporters in Los Angeles have undertaken an ambitious campaign to win support for his case. Their activities will culminate in a benefit March 12, defense coordinator Pedro Vázquez told the *Militant* in a telephone interview.

"I've been going around to every Chicano organization on practically every campus," Vázquez said. "And the response has been terrific. We've already gotten the endorsement of the MEChA at Cal State Dominguez Hills, and I'm sure we'll get more."

Marroquín will speak at four or five campus meetings, Vázquez said, in addition to the March 12 affair.

The Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee will hold a picket line at the downtown federal building March 13 to call for asylum for Marroquín. The committee is planning a simultaneous news conference featuring Marroquín.

The committee has already sent out a 1,000-piece mailing to Latin American defense activists, Chicano groups, and other individuals and organizations concerned with human rights in Latin America.

Héctor Marroquín's national speaking tour will take him to the following cities:

San Francisco	
Bay Area	March 6-9
San Diego	March 10-11
Los Angeles	March 12-17
New York City	March 19-22, 27-29, April 3-5
Newark	March 23-24
Philadelphia	March 30-April 1
Pittsburgh	April 6-7
Morgantown, W. Va.	April 8-10
Cleveland	April 11-13
Toledo, Ohio	April 17
Detroit	April 18-20
Cincinnati	April 21-22
Louisville/Lexington	April 24-25
Boston	April 27-May 2

Defend Hector Marroquin!

San Francisco: Hear Héctor Marroquín, Saturday, March 4, 8 p.m. St. Peter's Auditorium, 24th and Alabama.

Los Angeles: A *tardeada* benefit. Sunday, March 12, Rudy's Pasta House, 6047 E. Olympic Blvd. Entertainment and Speakers from 4 p.m. to 9 p.m., dinner at 5 p.m., disco to follow. Speakers: Héctor Marroquín; Edward Morga, national president, League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC); Peter Schey, attorney for José Jacques Medina, Mexican activist seeking U.S. asylum; others. Donation: \$3.50 (includes dinner). Ausp: Marroquín Defense Committee. For more information call (213) 482-1820.

New York City: An afternoon in defense of Héctor Marroquín. Sunday, March 19, 4 p.m. at the New York Society for Ethical Culture Meeting House, 2 W. 64th St. (off Central Park West). Speakers: Roger Baldwin, founder of the American Civil Liberties Union; Grace Paley, writer; Annette Rubenstein, writer; Margaret Winter, attorney for Héctor Marroquín; State Assemblyman Edward Sullivan; and Héctor Marroquín. Donation: \$3. Ausp: United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners; New York Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee. For more information contact the defense committee at 853 Broadway, Suite 414, (212) 254-6062.

*Invited

international **socialist** review

Who Owns the Mines? The Case of Consolidation Coal

By Dick Roberts



Militant/Howard Petrick

Key Issues in the Movement for Women's Suffrage

By Dianne Feeley



THE MONTH IN REVIEW

New Attacks on New York Workers

New York Mayor Edward Koch is aiming to more than live up to his election-time threat to "get tough" with public employees unions.

Contract negotiations with six municipal unions began February 27. At the opening session, Mayor Basil Paterson unveiled a plan for sweeping new attacks on city workers.

Paterson demanded that the unions accept:

- No general wage increase for the duration of the contract;
- Abolition of cost-of-living increases;
- An end to contractual restrictions on layoffs;
- Elimination of paid lunch hours, coffee breaks, and time off for union activities;
- Elimination of time-and-a-half pay for overtime;
- Elimination of paid holidays on Lincoln's Birthday and election day and abolition of all paid personal leave; and
- Reduction by five days in the annual vacation.

It is no coincidence that these outrageous proposals are even harsher than the demands that mine operators are trying to impose on the United Mine Workers union. Both are part of a coordinated ruling-class drive—directed from the White House and Wall Street board rooms—to roll back and eventually abolish the gains made by working people over decades of struggle.

Put very simply the message is: no more wage gains, no more hope for a secure retirement or access to inexpensive medical care, no more protection from inflation, no more progress on shortening the hours of work, no more even minimal job security, and no more right to strike to protect yourself from all these attacks.

Koch's proposals are the payoff to city workers for the strategy followed by union bureaucrats such as Albert Shanker of the United Federation of Teachers and Victor Gotbaum of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees. When the city's financial crisis burst into the open in 1975, they accepted the city's argument that workers must pay for the crisis. They meekly accepted the city's insistence that the billions of dollars in interest payments poured into the coffers of the banks must not be used for any other purpose.

This flowed naturally from their policy of

supporting capitalist politicians such as former Mayor Abraham Beame, Gov. Hugh Carey, Koch, and Carter. They counted on the crisis blowing over in a short time, enabling them to resume business as usual.

As a result, the ruling rich in New York have gotten away with eliminating 61,000 city jobs, abolishing free tuition at City University, and cutting back on hospitals and other essential services.

But the crisis did not end. And the banks and their political servants—their appetites whetted by the concessions granted by the Gotbaums and Shankers—are demanding more.

The adoption of a contract such as that proposed by Paterson would reduce the city unions to a hollow shell, unable to provide the slightest protection to their members.

The Paterson plan represents the city's maximum goals for this round of negotiations. Paterson indicated in an interview in the February 19 *New York Times* what kind of help he is expecting from the union tops in exchange for giving ground on a few points: "We may well be talking about layoffs. . . . But we have to have union participation in the formulation of those plans so that they don't feel we have imposed it. . . ."

"I always thought that no union leader would ever accept a layoff. I'm beginning to think that maybe I'm not so right. I think some union leaders do believe their situations are better if there are layoffs, and the resulting additional money is used for the benefit of those who remain."

Paterson is also pressuring the unions to devote more resources to financing the city's debt:

"Right now the unions have well over 35 percent of their total pension investments in city bonds and notes. . . . I will not be surprised to see various demands being hooked up with continuance of further union pension fund investment."

Thus, on top of everything, the ruling class wants to make the pensions of city workers entirely dependent on the salability of bonds—that is, on the whim of the banks. This threatens the destruction of old-age pensions for all workers.

But banks and city officials face an obstacle in putting over these attacks: the increasing anger of many city workers. Lee Dembart wrote in the February 14 *New York Times*:

"The city cannot be content with convincing the union chiefs that it has no money. These leaders already believe it, but they say repeatedly that their members don't. . . ."

"The spectacle of the coal miners rejecting the contract that was negotiated for them is not being lost on any union leader in New York."

A major part of the propaganda emanating from Washington, D.C., around "aid" to New York City is aimed at persuading workers that the city will be ruined if they don't accept massive new blows. Carter's response to Koch's recent request for a congressional loan guarantee of \$2.2 billion was that this would depend on the performance of the

"state, the financial community, the city and state pension funds, the labor unions."

An editorial in the February 28 *New York Times* approved of Carter's extortion:

"The next month, before the transit workers' contract lapses on March 31, will require agreement with all major unions on the principle that increased labor costs should be offset by reductions in the city budget, including layoffs. . . . Only then can the employees' pension funds, the city's banks and state officials be expected to reveal their readiness to lend the city more money. . . ."

"That will be the moment to demonstrate . . . the need for some long-term Federal guarantees. . . ."

In other words, first the workers are to be blackmailed into accepting layoffs and putting their pensions on the line by the threat of bankruptcy; then there will still be plenty of time for Washington to guarantee bank profits through loan guarantees.

In his *New York Times* interview, Paterson stated the case quite baldly: "I agree conceptually that we should not be subsidizing the operation of the city on the backs of its workers, but we don't have any choice."

As a Democratic politician devoted to serving the banks and other capitalist interests, Paterson indeed has no choice.

But the unions *do* have a choice. City workers need a leadership that is not content to collect dues from the members while rolling over and playing dead at the command of the employers. They need union leaders who will present a clear-cut alternative program to the policies of Koch, Carey, and Carter.

They need leaders who will demand that human needs come before profits and that the needs of working people come before debt service to the banks; who will demand that the federal government take money from the war budget and devote it to rebuilding the cities and expanding public services.

The unions can ally with the Black community, Puerto Ricans, women, and students to fight for free tuition, more hospitals, child-care centers, and against unemployment—instead of trading layoffs and cutbacks for a puny wage increase.

They can take their case to working people all over the country—explaining that the bosses, not the workers, are responsible for the New York City crisis and that the bosses should pay for it.

They can mobilize the massive power of workers and their allies in strikes and demonstrations in a struggle to beat back the ruling-class assault.

But such a course requires fighting the Democratic Party in every arena—from the streets to the ballot box. It is the Democratic Party (with the full cooperation of the Republicans) that is engineering the attacks on New York workers at every level—city, state, and federal. The treacherous collaboration of Gotbaum, Shanker, and other union chiefs with Carter, Koch, and Carey threatens New York workers—and millions of others—with ruinous defeats.

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The *International Socialist Review* appears in the *Militant* that is published the first week of every month.

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Key Issues in the Women's Suffrage Movement

Participants in the suffrage struggle proposed various strategies for winning the vote. An important division was between those who favored building a mass women's movement by organizing working women and their allies, and others who believed the capitalist government and politicians would help women to achieve equality.

By Dianne Feeley

Fighters for women's rights today can learn much from the decades-long struggle women waged for the right to vote in the United States, from the Seneca Falls, New York, women's rights convention of 1848 to ratification of the nineteenth amendment to the Constitution in 1920.

Despite great differences in the historical periods, the women's rights movement then confronted the same enemy as do today's feminists: big business, along with its defenders and agents in government, the churches, the media, and the right wing.

The Carter administration, Congress, the Supreme Court, and the corporate interests they represent are pressing attacks against women's most basic rights in education, employment, and child care as well as directly challenging women's right to control their reproductive lives. The obstacles to winning final ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment six years after congressional passage are an expression of this reactionary drive.

How can we preserve the gains women have made and make further progress in the face of powerful opposition? What kind of women's movement is needed? Who are its allies and enemies? What program and strategy should it adopt?

The suffrage movement confronted similar questions. Different leaders and sections of the movement gave different answers. A fundamental issue at stake was whether the women's movement would retreat from or surrender its program in the interests of alliances with the capitalist government and politicians or build a mass movement of oppressed women and their allies.¹

Powerful forces within the suffrage movement

Dianne Feeley is a contributor to America's Revolutionary Heritage and Feminism and Socialism. She is also the author of Why Women Need the Equal Rights Amendment. All are published by Pathfinder Press.

advocated what they considered a "practical" course, ignoring issues of class and racial oppression. They supported U.S. imperialism in World War I, and maneuvered for influence within the Republican and Democratic parties. The truth is, however, that women's suffrage triumphed despite the class-collaborationist, racist, and anti-working-class bias that characterized some currents.

Such currents could not set a course leading to victory because they misestimated the capitalist system and the goals of Republican and Democratic party politicians. The oppression of women is deeply rooted within class society, and within capitalist society in particular. Capitalism requires the inferior status of women, and the ruling class reaps enormous profits from this subordination. Capitalist politicians will never be on the side of women in their fight for liberation, although important concessions can be wrested from them by effectively organized struggles.

Downturn in Women's Movement

In the first years after the Seneca Falls convention, the women's rights movement gained influence steadily. Its progress was linked to the growth of antislavery sentiment in the years prior to the Civil War. With the end of the post-Civil War Reconstruction era, a period of reaction followed, and the movement went into a tailspin.

1. Some of the works I found valuable in preparing this study are: *Century of Struggle* by Eleanor Flexner (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1959); *Laura Clay and the Woman's Rights Movement* by Paul Fuller (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1975); *From Parlor to Prison*, edited by Sheran Gluck (New York: Vintage, 1976); *The Story of the Woman's Party* by Inez Haynes Irwin (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Company, 1921); *The Ideas of the Woman's Suffrage Movement* by Aileen Kraditor (New York: Columbia University, 1965); *Womanhood in America* by Mary Ryan (New York: New Viewpoints, 1975); *The Decline of American Socialism, 1912-25* by James Weinstein (New York: Monthly Review, 1967); *Crusade for Justice—the Autobiography of Ida B. Wells*, edited by Alfreda Duster (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1970); and the transcript of the proceedings of the 1908 and 1910 conventions of the Socialist Party.

Between 1870 and 1910 there were 480 efforts to include women's suffrage in thirty-three state constitutions. Seventeen referendums took place, resulting in two victories. Suffragists campaigned, raised money, and traveled the country by buggy and train. But the political climate kept the movement from growing and had a conservatizing effect on the leadership of the movement.

The downturn was reversed during the widespread radicalization that preceded World War I. Women won the vote in the United States because currents led by Harriet Stanton Blatch, Ida B. Wells-Barnett, women and other activists from the Socialist Party, and participants in the settlement-house movement² encouraged working women, immigrant women, and Black women to join and build the movement. This made possible a truly massive and independent struggle for suffrage. In the end, the working people and the oppressed provided the suffrage movement with a mass base interested in seeing the struggle through to victory.

Immigrants and Women's Rights

The institutionalization of Jim Crow segregation against Blacks in the 1890s, the conquest of Puerto Rico, Hawaii, and the Philippines, and the passage of restrictive legislation against Asian and southern European immigration vastly intensified racism in the United States. The women's movement—still small in size—existed in this environment and was affected by its pressures.

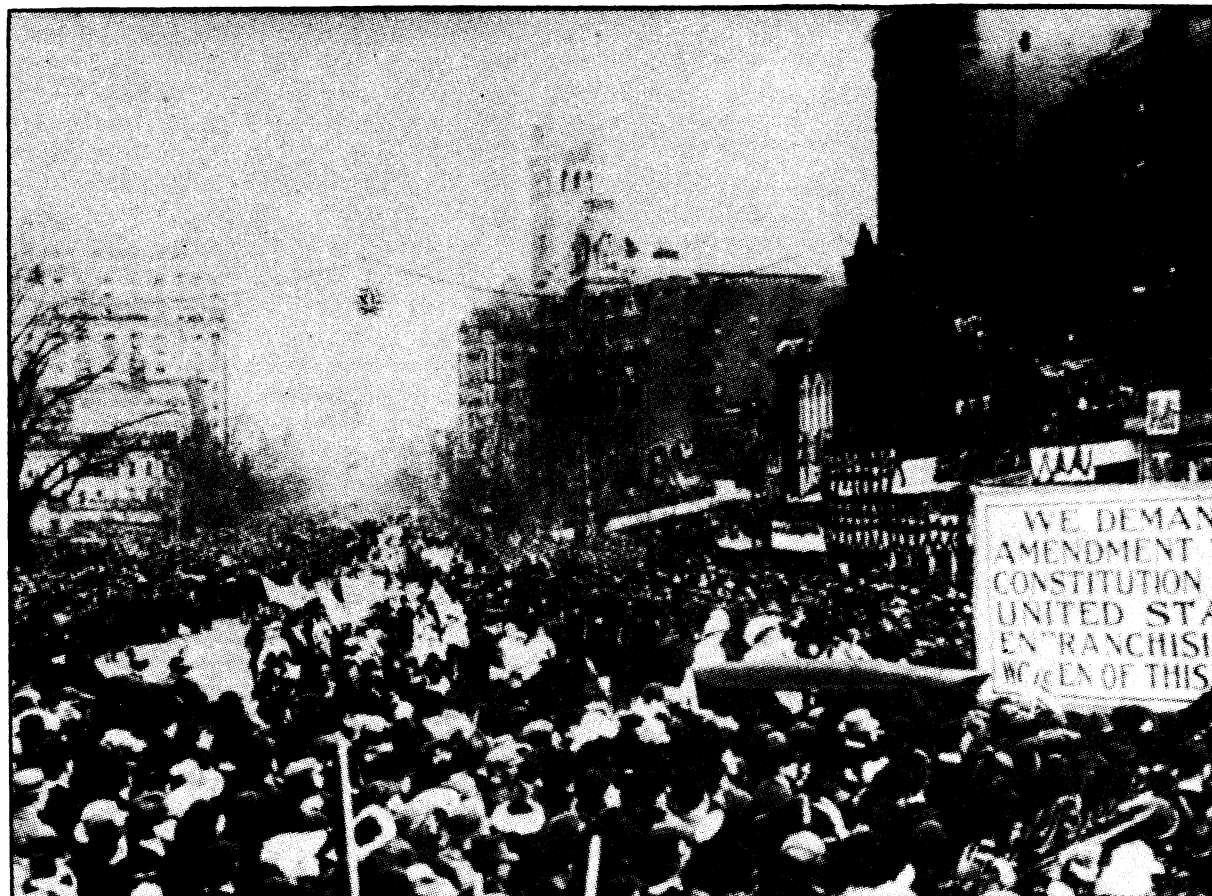
In 1894 and 1897 the pages of the *Woman's Journal*, a suffragist newspaper, were thrown

2. The settlement houses were centers established in poor, immigrant, and working-class communities, where children and adults could learn skills, relax, or talk over problems. Emphasis was placed on providing immigrants with a variety of cultural events, including theater and music.

They were initiated in the last decade of the nineteenth century by socially conscious women such as Lillian Wald and Jane Addams who lived in immigrant communities. Participants in settlement-house projects were often attracted to the working-class, feminist, and social-reform movements.



Leaders of the suffrage movement (from right to left): Elizabeth Cady Stanton; Carrie Chapman Catt of the National American Woman Suffrage Association; Ida Wells-Barnett, Black fighter for women's rights; and Lena Morrow Lewis, elected to the national executive board of the Socialist Party in 1910.



March 3, 1913, demonstration in Washington, D.C., pressed the demand for a suffrage amendment to the Constitution.

open to a debate over the views of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, a former abolitionist who had once identified with the struggles of working women. She came out in favor of an educational qualification for suffrage because it would "limit the foreign vote" and "decrease the ignorant native vote."

In 1903 a debate on the desirability of an educational qualification was held at the convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA). Only Charlotte Perkins Gilman, author of *Women and Economics*, spoke against the idea. An informal vote was taken, and the overwhelming majority of the delegates rose in support of qualified suffrage. Southern delegates played a major part in the debate, stressing the need for qualifications on suffrage to assure white Anglo-Saxon supremacy.

In this period southern suffragist Laura Clay could confidently write: "The National [Association] has always recognized the usefulness of woman suffrage as a counterbalance to the foreign vote, and as means of legally preserving white supremacy in the South."

In 1903 the Women's Trade Union League was founded. It organized women into unions, supported strikes where the majority of workers were women, and spread support for women's suffrage within the trade-union movement. Although its base was New York City, the WTUL had branches in several major cities and wider influence through collaboration with the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and affiliation with the American Federation of Labor.

Organizations such as these prepared literature in the languages of the various immigrant groups, organized massive prosuffrage meetings, and participated in suffrage marches.

Eventually even most of the conservative forces in the movement stopped using the once-common argument that it was unfair to deprive suffrage to female descendants of the Mayflower passengers while immigrant men were enfranchised. Instead, arguments began to be directed at convincing immigrant working men that it was in their interest to support women's suffrage.

When suffrage passed in a New York State referendum in 1917, due largely to the votes of immigrant workers and their children of voting age, the *Woman Citizen* wrote:

"One of the things that women seeking the vote have learned is not to be afraid of America's foreign-born population. To the politicians, to the clubman, to the kid-gloved set, to the high-brow . . . the foreign-born constitute either a temptation or a fear. To suffragists the foreign born are a hope and a promise. . . . Suffragists have always smiled at the fears of the élite who were willing to give Fifth Avenue women a vote, but afraid of the women on Hester Street."

While these words glossed over a long debate in the women's movement, the passage marked the transformation that had taken place in the thinking of the suffrage movement since the 1890s.

The intense racism permeating American society and politics at the turn of the century made the problems of Black women an especially controversial question in the suffrage movement. Some leaders thought that in order to win white support (particularly in the South) Black women's participation should be discouraged.

Black Women in the Movement

Thus Ida Wells-Barnett, a Black suffragist, described how she was told by Susan B. Anthony, "When a group of colored women came and asked that I come to them and aid them in forming a branch of the suffrage association among the colored women I declined to do so, on the ground of . . . expediency."

Before a massive pre-inaugural suffrage parade in Washington, D.C., in 1913, Wells-Barnett was asked by the leaders of NAWSA not to march with the Chicago delegation, since the southern suffragists said they would not march with racially mixed contingents. Arguing that the white southern women should not be "forced" to abstain from the march, the NAWSA leaders banished Wells-Barnett to the Black women's contingent. Determined to march with the Illinois contingent or not at all, she stepped out from the crowd after the march started and, flanked by two white women, participated in the Illinois contingent.

Despite obstacles, Black women felt the need to organize to defend women's rights. Wells-Barnett organized the Alpha Suffrage Club in Chicago in 1914.

She felt the Illinois suffrage movement was leaning toward accepting a restriction on women's suffrage and hoped that forming a Black women's organization would reverse the trend. She found that Black women were "extremely interested when I showed them that we could use our vote for the advantage of our race." Black women's organizations were formed in other northern cities as well.

The right of these organizations to be part of the movement was continually challenged by conservative forces.

The Northeastern Federation of Women's Clubs, a Black women's organization representing 6,000 members, applied for membership in NAWSA in 1919. Writing for NAWSA President Carrie Chapman Catt, Ida Husted Harper urged postponement of its admission:

"Many of the Southern states are now willing to surrender their beloved doctrine of states' rights [in favor of the amendment], and their only obstacle is 'fear of the colored woman's vote' . . .

"The opponents are not leaving a stone unturned to defeat it and if the news is flashed throughout the Southern States at this most critical moment that the National American [Woman Suffrage] Association has just admitted an organization of 6,000 colored women, the enemies can cease from further effort—the defeat of the amendment will be assured."

Despite the pervasive racism of the times and concessions to it by many NAWSA leaders, Black women did succeed in fighting their way into the suffrage movement, putting forward their special outlook and needs. Together with the immigrant workers, they found many defenders within the women's movement who saw the importance and the justice of supporting their organizing efforts.

As a result, despite the pressures that were exerted, the main national organizations of the suffrage movement—such as NAWSA—ultimately rejected proposals to restrict suffrage to white, wealthy, educated, or native-born women. This proved to be key to victory. In the South, where suffrage leaders repudiated this principle, defeat and isolation ensued.

Racism and Southern Suffragists

In the Jim Crow states of the South, where the Black community was terrorized and rigid segregation had become the rule, the women's movement had to make a fundamental choice: either to challenge the racist structure or to uphold it. Experience demonstrated there was no third alternative.

Some southern suffrage leaders such as Kate Gordon were out-and-out racists. Others, such as Laura Clay, simply accepted the subordination of Blacks as part of the natural order. Their insistence that the women's movement conform to the racists status quo meant more than accepting the legitimacy of racial restrictions on suffrage and thus fatally undermining the argument for women's suffrage. It alienated the movement from Blacks, who could only gain if women won their rights, in order to win the favor of the racist and sexist southern rulers, who stood to lose if women were victorious.

Leaders of the southern suffrage movement fought for educational or property qualifications or, as in Mississippi in 1907, for a "white women only" clause. In the end Clay and Gordon opposed the national suffrage amendment as a violation of states' rights that could unsettle the southern "way of life." They even testified against the amendment in Tennessee!

In 1919, on the eve of the suffrage victory, Clay complained in a letter to Gordon that the enfranchisement of all women "in this time of world revolution" was dangerous. She argued that 15 million newly enfranchised women would be especially susceptible to the radicalism of the "agitators swarming the United States."

Clay was fond of defending her reactionary stance with the argument that other issues were a diversion from the question of women's suffrage: "When we go through the South advocating woman suffrage, without attaching it to dress reform, or bicycling, or anything else . . . we shall win. The South is ready for woman suffrage, but it must be woman suffrage and nothing else."

Events showed that Clay really gave top priority to other issues—particularly the preservation of the wealth, privileges, and power of rich whites. When she concluded that these would be endangered by the victory of women's suffrage, she betrayed the movement.

New Strategy, New Tactics

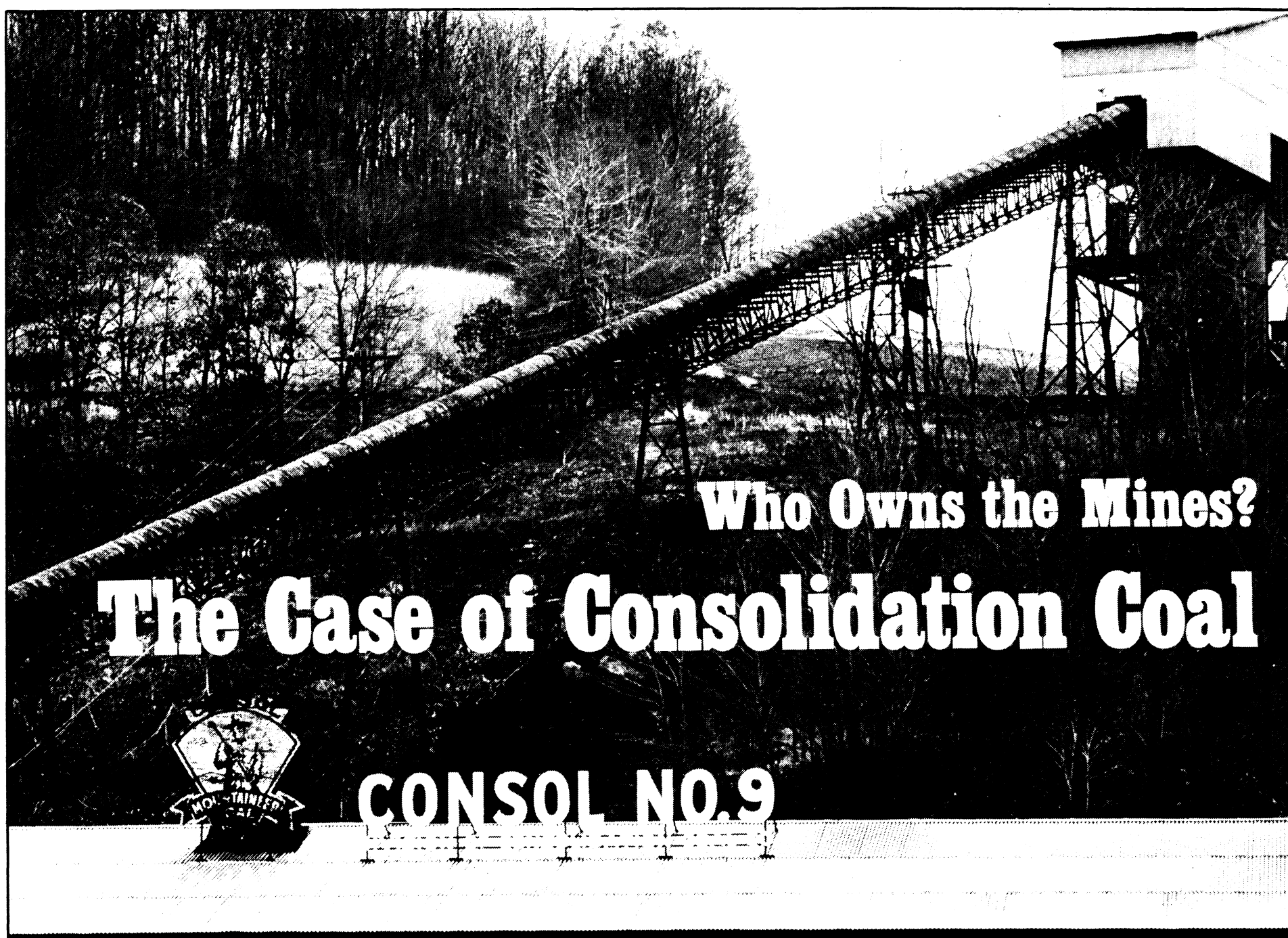
The first generation of suffragists, of which Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony were outstanding examples, gradually adopted a strategy of seeking to win the vote by persuading state legislatures of the justice of their cause.

This method's lack of success—coupled with the rise of labor struggles and radicalism in the early part of the twentieth century—produced interest in methods that would mobilize and demonstrate an overwhelming public sentiment for women's suffrage, thus compelling the government to grant it. Accomplishing this required building a base for the suffrage movement among the poor and working women and men in the big cities.

In 1908 Harriet Stanton Blatch, daughter of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, returned to the United States after living in England for many years. She found the suffrage movement isolated and turned inward, disheartened by defeats. Blatch had participated in demonstrations organized by the English suffragists, had supported the British trade-union movement, and considered herself a socialist.

Hoping to shake the movement out of its

Continued on page ISR/9



Who Owns the Mines?

The Case of Consolidation Coal

CONSOL NO.9

Howard Petrick

The members of the United Mine Workers union are not merely challenging old-fashioned coal operators who haven't caught up with 'modern' labor relations. The decision to take on the miners was made by the power centers of U.S. imperialism—the Morgan, Rockefeller, Mellon, Hanna, and other ruling-class interests.

By Dick Roberts

The first explosion at "Consol Number 9" took place on November 20, 1968. For a week afterwards explosions ripped through the tunnels of this gigantic underground mine. (It covers an area the size of Manhattan Island.) Finally, on November 29, the mine was sealed to block off the flames and fumes. Seventy-eight miners had been killed.

That mine disaster in Farmington, West Virginia, was by no means the only or the worst of such tragedies. By 1968 more than 114,000 persons had been killed in coal mines since official count was started in 1839. From 1900 there had been, on the average, 119 deaths every seventeen days.

But the Consol Number 9 disaster occurred in the context of a radicalizing America. The Consol explosion helped detonate the rank-and-file movement among mine workers and their supporters, fueling the militancy of the miners' strike.

Consol

"Consol" is short for Consolidation Coal, the second-biggest coal company in the nation. It's pronounced Con-SOL with the accent on the

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second syllable—and not only by miners but also on Wall Street.

Who owns Consolidation Coal? Who profits from maintaining the unsafe conditions that miners must work in? How do these magnates operate? What are the owners' relations with government? In short, who are the miners up against when they battle the coal industry?

These are not questions that have been covered in the press and on television during the miners' strike, nor are they likely to be. The real ruling structure in America and the way it operates is a closely guarded secret.

In one sense the answer to the question, "Who owns Consol?" is easy: Consolidation Coal is owned by the Continental Oil Company. In 1966, as the oil companies were expanding their ownership of coal, uranium and offshore petroleum reserves, Continental Oil merged with Consol. In 1976 Consol produced 38 percent of Continental Oil's profits.

Continental Oil, or CONOCO, is the tenth-largest petroleum corporation. It is the twentieth largest industrial corporation in the United States, and it ranks thirty-first among all industrial corporations in the capitalist world. CONOCO has subsidiaries in thirty-four countries on six continents, including major oil interests in Iran, Libya, Indonesia, and the North Sea. It produces petrochemicals and mines uranium throughout the U.S. Northwest.

CONOCO is not among the corporations—the "Seven Sisters"—that dominate world petroleum production. Nonetheless, it is owned by the most powerful U.S. banking interests and has plentiful channels of influence into the nation's capitol.

The Consolidation Coal Company represents

the intertwining of many threads of industry and finance. The Pittsburgh Coal Company (dominated by the Mellon interests, the Hannas of Cleveland, the Morgan banking partnership through Continental Oil, and even the Roosevelt family, have played parts in the shaping of Consol. Many of the most powerful sections of American capitalism have fought to control it. Consol's development typifies the development of American capitalism since the Civil War.

Its roots go back to the Georges Creek coal mining region of Maryland, where the first company with the name Consolidation Coal was formed in 1864. One of its first directors was Warren Delano, Franklin Delano Roosevelt's grandfather. James Roosevelt, the future president's father, came onto Consol's board of directors at a later date.

Railroad Trusts

Laborers blasted through the Allegheny mountains in 1852 to bring the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad into the coalfields. The Pennsylvania railroad extended through the mountains to Pittsburgh the following year, and for the next half-century ownership of the coalfields was a prime target of the railroad trusts, which were dominant in American finance. The Baltimore & Ohio bought into Consol in 1875. For thirty years Consolidation and the Baltimore & Ohio were both headquartered in Baltimore. Many of the same directors served on the boards of both firms.

Antitrust regulations in the first decade of this century made it illegal for the railroads to directly own coal companies. The Baltimore & Ohio shares in Consol then passed into the

hands of a syndicate headed by U.S. Sen. Clarence Watson.

From the 1880s to 1914 coal production flourished, and Consol grew rapidly. In 1915 the Rockefellers began to buy into Consol and eventually owned 38 percent of the stock.

Pittsburgh Coal

At about the turn of the century the Mellon banking family, already coming to be the foremost financial power in the Pittsburgh area, formed the Pittsburgh Coal company. This corporation brought together Mellon's own coal properties and a number of smaller firms. At about the same time another series of mergers created the Monongahela River Consolidated Coal and Coke Company.

Coal production increased vastly in the First World War. The coal barons reaped billions of dollars in profits from the carnage. Pittsburgh Coal purchased the Monongahela River Consolidated Coal and Coke Company in 1916. By 1918 Pittsburgh Coal's output reached 580 million tons—as compared with the 34 million tons mined by Pittsburgh and Consol combined in 1907. The First World War made Pittsburgh Coal a giant of American industry.

On the board of directors of this firm sat two of the foremost leaders of American capitalism: Henry Clay Frick and Andrew Mellon. Frick began to build a financial empire in steel with a loan from banker Thomas Mellon, a major shareholder in Pittsburgh Coal. Frick became the most powerful partner in Andrew Carnegie's immense United States Steel Trust. He became notorious for his role in breaking the 1892 Homestead Steel strike in which seven workers were murdered by Pinkerton guards hired by Frick.

At the end of World War I the three wealthiest Americans were John D. Rockefeller, Sr., Frick, and Carnegie.

The Mellons

Andrew Mellon, Thomas Mellon's son, inherited his father's Pittsburgh banking firms and moved on to consolidate Mellon control not only in Pittsburgh Coal but in Gulf Oil, the American Locomotive Company, and many other rail, utility, and steel companies in the Appalachian region.

Frick and Mellon personified the banking, steel, coal, and petroleum trusts, which were the dominant forces in American imperialism at the end of the First World War. Mellon himself became secretary of the treasury under presidents Harding and Coolidge. In 1931 he was appointed U.S. ambassador to England, where he helped parcel out the international petroleum market among Gulf and its six "sisters" comprising the international petroleum cartel.

In 1937 the Temporary National Economic Committee of the Securities and Exchange Commission reported that the two largest shareholders in Pittsburgh Coal in 1937 were: The Coalesced Company (controlled by Paul Mellon and Ailsa Mellon Bruce) which held 30.91 percent; and the Aloxite Corporation (controlled by Richard Mellon and Sarah Mellon Scaife), which held 19.18 percent. As World War II opened, four Mellons held more than 50 percent in a corporation that was to be a major battleground between capital and labor during the war.

The SEC report also reported that the Mellons controlled 10.1 percent of Pullman; 35.2 percent of Alcoa Aluminum; 52 percent of Koppers chemical; and 70 percent of Gulf Oil.

Mark Hanna

In addition to the Rockefellers and Mellons, the name of Marcus Alonzo Hanna is associated with the making of Consol. While the Mellons were building Pittsburgh Coal and the railroads fostered Consol, Hanna was building a giant fortune in Cleveland, where he owned a newspaper, headed a bank, and became a street-railway magnate.

Hanna's M.A. Hanna & Company was a partnership with his brothers, which owned coal and iron ore mines, manufactured pig iron, built ships, and owned a fleet of steamers.

A powerful force in national Republican Party politics, Mark Hanna made William McKinley the governor of Ohio and then organized his successful campaigns for president in 1896 and 1900. He retained substantial influence with McKinley's successor, Theodore Roosevelt. Hanna became a U.S. senator and died in 1904.

Hanna brought more sophisticated methods of handling labor conflicts into the industry. Labor militancy was on the rise, and the United Mine Workers union was growing.

Hanna helped found the National Civic Federation, a business group that established close ties with American Federation of Labor President Samuel Gompers, United Mine Workers President John Mitchell, and other union bureaucrats.

From May 12 to October 21, 1902, more than 140,000 workers in the railroad-monopolized anthracite coalfields of Pennsylvania and Ohio went on strike demanding recognition of the UMWA and a union shop. The coal operators' preferred methods of dealing with such outbreaks—scabherding and violent repression—failed to break the miners' spirit, and their cause won ever-widening support from other workers and the general public.

Coal operator Hanna presented himself and the NCF as intermediaries between the workers and the anthracite bosses, whose rigidity threatened to spur labor radicalism.

Republican Sen. Henry Cabot Lodge warned: "It is difficult to consider with calmness the attitude of the operators. . . . They are not only going to cause great suffering and probably defeat the Republican Party, but their attitude is a menace to all property in the country and is breeding socialism at a rate which it is hard to contemplate."

Lodge's fears were not based on speculation. Labor historian Philip Foner writes that "in the strike region, the Pennsylvania Socialists were gaining recruits at a phenomenal rate. Four Socialist locals were established every day after mid-July, and within a few weeks, the membership of these locals increased from 25 to 340 each."

Hanna's cozy relations with the union bureaucrats proved valuable to the coal barons. He persuaded Mitchell to prevent the spread of the strike to bituminous coal miners. Alternating warnings of dire consequences with praise for Mitchell's "statesmanship," Hanna helped convince the UMWA leaders to accept federal arbitration in exchange for sending the miners back to work without an agreement.

The "impartial" arbitrator ruled in favor of the "open shop" and gave no recognition to the union. It was more than a decade before the anthracite miners won union recognition. In the face of a united and militant work force, Hanna's approach won a victory for the coal operators.

Such experiences led a National Civic Federation spokesman to say in 1903: "Our experience has convinced us that the best way to control labor organizations is to lead and not force them. We are also convinced that the conservative element in all unions will control when properly led and officered."

Many years later the Hanna interests took over Consolidation Coal Company.

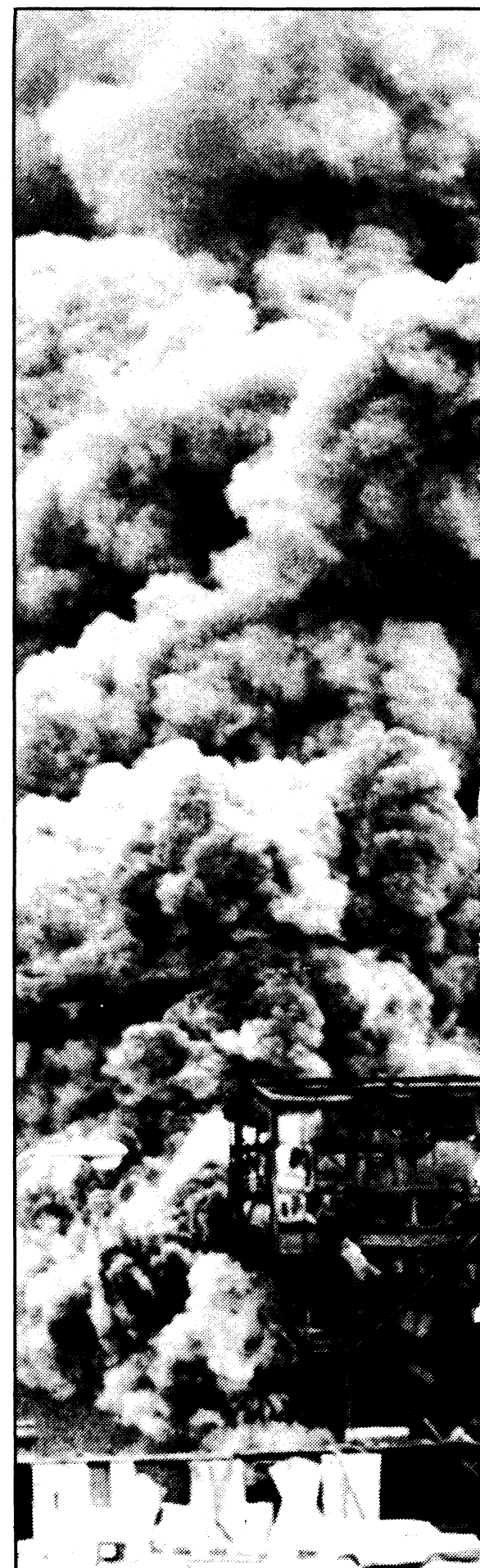
Depression

From the boom of the First World War the coal industry fell upon bad times in the mid-1920s and near financial collapse during the Great Depression.

The situation was described in a 1955 speech given in Pittsburgh to the American Newcomen Society, a businessmen's club, by George Love, president of Consol. Love provided his wealthy listeners with an overview of Consol's history.

"From 1925 until the outbreak of the Second World War," said Love, "the coal industry presented a picture to prove that completely unbridled competition in a natural resource industry, which has excess capacity, is harmful and wasteful to the Country, to the industry, and to the people engaged in that industry. Large reserves of some of our best coals were abandoned in this period, never to be recovered. Men were impoverished and degraded, as financially unsound operators attempted to reduce wages a little faster than prices. . . ."

"Unbridled competition" between the growing monopolistic trusts did lead to price cuts and profit losses in coal and other industries. The monopolists increasingly moved toward carefully controlled market divisions in industries where they had agreement. Along the route they recognized the necessity of the federal government to play a role in enforcing these market divisions. The "antitrust" agencies of the government were used by the trusts themselves to police and



Seventy-eight miners died in Farmington, West V

protect the division of markets between monopoly powers.

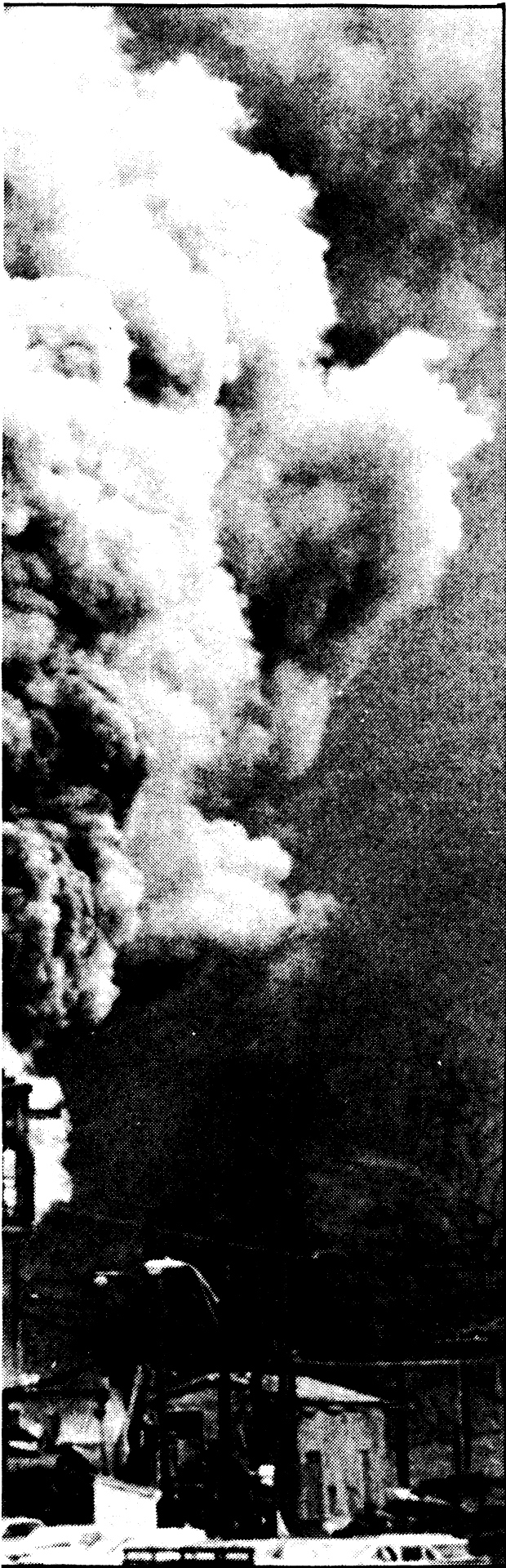
The decline of profitability and production in the coal industry convinced the Rockefellers, who had dominated Consol since World War I, that coal was finished. According to Love, "the Rockefeller interests took their 100 percent loss at this time and retired from the coal scene."

Although their estimate of the prospects of the coal industry proved inaccurate, the Rockefellers' conviction that petroleum would become the most important source of energy enabled them to build the wealthiest and most powerful financial empire the world has ever seen.

Production for the slaughter of World War II saved the U.S. coal industry. We "made tremendous strides in efficiency . . . as earnings hitherto practically unknown to coal appeared and were available to be poured underground into new machinery," George Love said in 1955. The operators had plenty of help from the government in this, as evidenced by the fact that Roosevelt intervened to take over coal production in 1943, trying to force striking coal miners to work at bayonet point.

New Mergers

By 1944 the production of the companies that later constituted Consol reached 620 million tons, higher than the World War I level, even though oil had become the dominant energy source for



via, mine disaster in 1968

military equipment. Consol has not produced as much as 60 million tons—a tenth of that amount—in any of the past ten years.

That a slump would follow the war was well known to the coal industrialists. In 1945, to guard against this prospect, Consolidation Coal merged with the Mellons' Pittsburgh Coal to form Pittsburgh Consolidation Coal.

"The M. A. Hanna interests of Cleveland became the largest stockholder," Love said. In 1946, Pittsburgh Consolidation assimilated the Hanna coal properties in Ohio. (By this time the Hanna interests included not only the M. A. Hanna Coal Company and Hanna Mining, but had expanded to control National Steel and hold a significant portion of Phelps-Dodge steel stock.) In 1958, Pittsburgh Consolidation Coal dropped the Pittsburgh from its name, becoming Consolidation Coal once again.

Continental Oil

CONOCO, which purchased Consolidation in 1966, was formed in the 1920s, merging firms that owned refineries in Baltimore and Ponca City, Oklahoma; oil in Texas and California; Atlantic shore properties; and a fleet of tank steamers. Although CONOCO is not in the international petroleum cartel—it is one of the "independents"—it is no more independent of Eastern finance capital than giant competitors such as the Rockefellers' Exxon and the Mellons'

Gulf. A glance at the first published listing of the board of directors in Continental Oil's 1931 annual report demonstrates this. There were ten directors. Three of them, Oklahoma oil men, were top managers, and one of these, Dan Moran, was CONOCO's president for several decades.

C. F. Ayer, a director of CONOCO from its founding to his death in 1956, was the chairman of the board of directors of Newmont Mining Corporation, a giant copper and minerals-mining conglomerate with investments stretching from South America to South Africa. Newmont was the largest single shareholder of Continental Oil in 1977.

Morgan Influence

Three of the 1931 directors represented banks controlled by the John Pierpont Morgan interests, the most powerful banks of that time.

William Potter, a director of CONOCO off and on for three decades, was president and chairman of the board of the Guaranty Trust Bank in New York. Potter was also a director of Anaconda Copper, Bethlehem Steel, the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad, Columbia Gas, and Kennecott Copper.

George Whitney, a partner since 1919 of J. P. Morgan, was another CONOCO director. Whitney headed the J. P. Morgan bank for a number of years and managed its merger with Guaranty in 1959. He was also a director of General Motors, Consolidated Edison, Kennecott Copper, Montgomery Ward, New York Central Railroad, and others. Whitney headed the executive committee on Continental's board for almost two decades.

Finally, Thomas S. Lamont was on the first CONOCO board and stayed on it until 1945. Lamont was the son of Thomas W. Lamont, J. P. Morgan's most influential partner. The son was a partner in J. P. Morgan and a director of Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe, Phelps-Dodge, Nestle, and Texas Gulf Sulfur, among other corporations.

In other words, Continental was in the orbit of the Morgan banking partnership.*

In such a firm the managerial posts are reserved for the people who know the business. The key financial decisions remain under the control of the banking interests, which hold the majority shares.

Ownership

The most complete appraisal of the ownership of American corporations was a byproduct of the depression. From 1937 until 1941 the "Temporary National Economic Committee" (TNEC) of the Securities and Exchange Commission investigated the ownership of the 200 largest U.S. corporations at that time. (This included CONOCO and Pittsburgh Coal, but not Consolidation.) The most important results were published by the SEC as "Monograph 29" in 1940.

By then the process was well underway that now all but completely hides the actual ownership patterns in U.S. corporations. In the 1920s the most wealthy capitalist families began to establish "trust funds" to hold their stock. These are mainly a device to avoid personal income taxes. The trust funds, in turn, are kept in banks, which merely keep track of the stock and collect dividends to be accumulated in the trust fund. Sometimes the banks also manage the trust fund and vote the stocks into it.

The identities of the owners of the stocks are kept secret. The trust funds are identified on Wall Street—and were, in many cases, to the investigators of the TNEC in 1938—only by their "nominee" names.

Thus the TNEC found that the fourth-largest holder of stocks in Continental Oil in 1938 was "Shaw & Company," identified only as a "nominee for J.P. Morgan, beneficiaries not disclosed." In other words, a trust fund in the J.P. Morgan bank held the fourth-largest number of shares in Continental, but the federal Securities

*The fact that Continental Oil retains close ties to the Morgan banking interests is indicated by John Sonquist and Thomas Koenig in a special Spring 1975 issue of *The Insurgent Sociologist*, edited by G. William Domhoff. Using mathematical graph theory, Sonquist and Koenig located a cluster of banks and corporations with interlocking directorates including Continental Oil, Bankers Trust, J.P. Morgan, Inc., Hanna Mining, Honeywell, Chrysler, General Motors, Bethlehem Steel, and U.S. Steel.

and Exchange Commission itself could not find who owned the shares.

The relatively small percentages of stock owned by each bank's trust funds in many corporations are more than enough to exercise a powerful, and usually controlling, influence. They reflect the expanding influence of the dominant capitalist groups, which no longer concentrate on holding an overwhelming majority of shares in a few companies (as the Mellons did in Gulf and Pittsburgh Coal in the 1930s), but on smaller, controlling blocks of stock in a vast array of business enterprises.

Consol and Continental Merge

Continental also grew during World War II. By 1945 it had oil resources in Wyoming, California, Texas, Kansas, Oklahoma, Louisiana, New Mexico, and Indiana. Its gross income of \$144 million more than doubled its predepression high point of \$70 million in 1926. Yet it was only after the war, as Continental wedged its way into Middle Eastern and Asian oil fields, that the company began to grow fast.

In 1938 Pittsburgh Coal ranked 131 among U.S. industrial corporations and Continental Oil ranked 158. By 1965 Consol (incorporating Pittsburgh Coal and the Hanna properties) had dropped to 217 on *Fortune's* list of the 500 largest industrial firms, while Continental ranked 37. Today Continental Oil is the twentieth-largest industrial firm in the United States.

The merger of Consol into Continental in 1966—one of the biggest mergers in U.S. history—thus also represented a further decline in the relative weight of coal, as against petroleum, among energy sources.

Who Owns CONOCO?

In 1973 the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Budgeting, Management, and Expenditures, chaired by the late Sen. Lee Metcalf (D-Mont.), released the names of the top thirty stockholders of eighty-nine of the largest U.S. corporations, including CONOCO.

Even more than at the time of TNEC the real stockholders' names were concealed by the banks and stock brokerages that held their funds. Shown below are the eight largest Continental Oil shareholders, according to Metcalf's 1973 report:

1. Bankers Trust, 2,948,101 shares, 5.8 percent.
2. New York Stock Exchange (for various brokers), 2,212,980 shares, 4.4 percent.
3. Texas Commerce Bank and National Bank of Tulsa, 1,948,088 shares, 3.8 percent.
4. Morgan Guaranty, 1,124,482 shares, 2.2 percent.
5. Mellon National Bank, Pittsburgh, 1.8 percent.
6. Northwestern National Bank, Minneapolis, 1.7 percent.
7. Chase Manhattan Bank, 668,307 shares, 1.3 percent.
8. Merrill Lynch, Pierce, Fenner & Smith, 543,968 shares, 1.1 percent.

Little that we don't already know can be learned from this list. One might speculate that the power of the Morgan interests in Continental had declined from the 1930s, dovetailing with the rising strength of the Rockefellers' oil and banking interests (represented by Chase Manhattan). But a Morgan heir or an heir to the Lamont or Whitney fortunes might have their stocks in a brokerage house or in a trust fund in Minneapolis or Tulsa.

One thing is certain: the major New York banks and brokerage houses remain the central repositories of the stock of Continental Oil. Behind the obscure "nominee names" of the trust funds in these banks stand the Rockefellers, Mellons, Morgan partners and other major sectors of U.S. finance capital.

In this respect Continental is not different from the other major corporations surveyed by Senator Metcalf. In almost all of the eighty-nine corporations that revealed the list of their top shareholders to the committee, the seven biggest New York banks held commanding numbers of shares in trust.

Rule of Finance Capital

The merger of Mellon and Hanna mining interests with Consolidation in 1946 was described by George Love as "conceived by coal people rather than financiers." This is a self-serving delusion at best. All major capitalist

industry represents the merging of bank and industrial capital. The considerations that dominate the boards are basically financial considerations. Finance capital rules American industry, and this is as much true of Consol and CONOCO as it is of the Morgan Guaranty Trust and the Chase Manhattan Bank.

There is a widely held misconception—advanced in particular by Paul Sweezy and the late Paul Baran in *Monopoly Capital*—that a corporation is run by its managers for its own profits and not primarily for the benefit of private owners.

There is an element of truth in this. The managers of a corporation control its day-to-day activities and certainly attempt (within the limits of cartelized markets) to gain the maximum profit at all times. But the managers do not own significant shares of corporate stock, they do not make the major investments in the corporations themselves, and consequently they do not, in the last analysis, control the corporations they administer.

Ownership and control of capitalist corporations resides in the hands of wealthy ruling-class families who hold the majority of corporate stocks.

From the standpoint of a capitalist, the profit question transcends any given firm in importance. Capitalists invest where profits are greatest at a given moment. They owe no allegiance to any firm—even if their own grandfathers set it up.

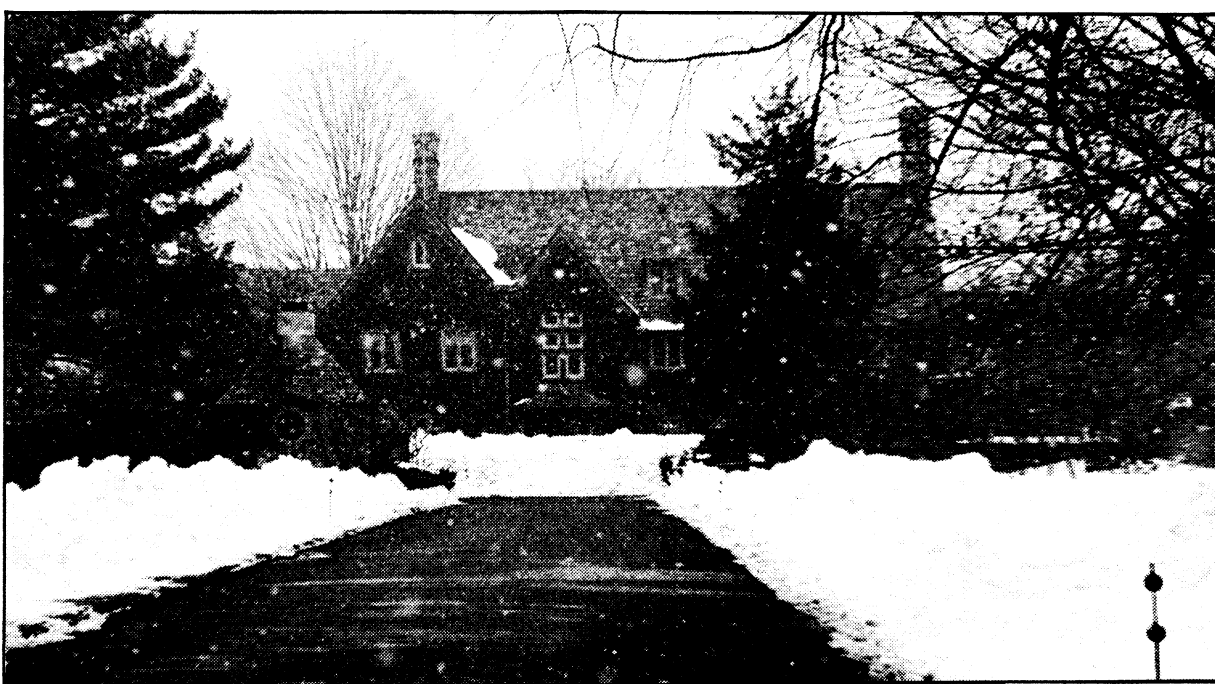
Investments ebb and flow from corporation to corporation. A manager who fails to meet the profit expectations of the capitalist will be voted out by the shareholders or find capital withdrawn from the firm and transferred to more profitable use. This gives the central investors the power to dictate and, where necessary, override the decisions of a given company or even a whole group of companies. The search of capital for the most profitable corporations is one of the forces that gives capitalism its cyclical booms and busts.

Thus Consol has seen Rockefeller money come and go and (through CONOCO) come again. It has been a target of the Morgans, the Mellons, and the Hannas—and its basic decisions have been dictated by the profit hunger of these capitalist magnates.

Two Managers

If H. C. Frick and Andrew Mellon were the prototype directors of U.S. corporations a half-century ago, George Love and a colleague of his, George Humphrey are the prototypical managers of giant corporations in the post-Second World War period.

Such men can become tremendously wealthy, as both Love and Humphrey (who died in 1970) did. Love was president and then chairman of Consol until it merged with Continental Oil. He became a director of Continental and moved on to the chairmanship of Chrysler. At the time Love addressed the Pittsburgh audience he was acting chairman of M. A. Hanna and a director of General Electric, Union Carbide, National



Militant/Dick Roberts

The mansion and part of the property of Archie McCardell in Westport, Connecticut. A chief executive of Continental Oil and former president of Xerox, McCardell gets a salary of \$788,697 a year.

Steel, Mellon Bank, and Pullman.

George Humphrey had directed M. A. Hanna before Love. Like Love, Humphrey served the Hanna and Mellon interests, but unlike Love—in what is becoming more and more the pattern—Humphrey also served the ruling class in high government posts as well as on the industry boards. He chaired the business advisory council of the Department of Commerce in the Truman administration in 1946. The next year he was an “industry member” of the twelve-man advisory panel set up under the Taft-Hartley antilabor act. From 1953 to 1957, under Eisenhower, Humphrey was secretary of the treasury.

As rich as such men become—and their incomes place them in the very highest brackets—they cannot (except through marriage) bridge the social gap between the lower, essentially managerial, echelons of the ruling class and its central sectors such as the Hannas and Mellons.

By 1965, the year before Consol merged with Continental, the *Wall Street Journal* reported that George Love owned 100,400 shares of Consol. This big holding would have been worth \$6,659,000 when Consol hit its high point of \$66.325 a share in 1965. Yet the *Journal* also reported that the M. A. Hanna company owned 2,010,000 shares of Consol, worth \$133,313,250 at the same time.

No governmental agency has been able to penetrate M. A. Hanna (which was liquidated in 1965) in order to determine its actual ownership, but Wright Patman's House Banking Committee discovered that in 1966 the National City Bank of Cleveland held 10.7 percent of the stock of Hanna Mining in trust. This would have been worth \$30,536,767 at that stock's high point in 1967 and undoubtedly represented privately held Hanna stock.

Hanna Mining included on its 1966 board of directors, in addition to Humphrey and Love, one director from the National City Bank; a director

from the Society National Bank, also of Cleveland; two directors from Bankers Trust Company of New York; and two directors from the Mellon National Bank and Trust of Pittsburgh. It is certain that the Hanna, Mellon, and other ruling-class interests represented through their bankers predominate in the ultimate control of this corporation and of chief executives such as Love and Humphrey.

The Directors

If we pass from the bank vaults that hold the stock to the men who run Continental Oil today, it is a passage from an opaque ruling class to its conspicuous and highly-paid chief executives.

Thirteen directors were elected to CONOCO's board in 1977. Five of them were Continental's managers; four were bankers; two were chairmen of the boards of other major corporations; and two were top military specialists. None of the 1931 directors remained.

The lowest rung of management on the 1977 board of directors was held by A.W. Tarkington, the retired former chairman of the board of Continental. Tarkington's 1976 salary was \$82,964.

Above Tarkington was C. Howard Hardesty, Jr., vice-chairman of the board, whose salary was \$250,386. Hardesty owned 28,636 shares of CONOCO and was entitled through stock options to purchase an additional 30,000 shares. The total of Hardesty's potential stock holdings, if he exercised the options would be worth \$1,583,172 on the stock market in the spring of 1978. Hardesty is also a director of Wheeling-Pittsburgh Steel, National Cash Register, and Continental Carbon.

Next in rank is Ralph Bailey, vice-chairman of the board and the chairman of Consolidation Coal. Bailey's 1976 salary was \$283,231. His total Continental shares, including options, were 36,530.

Above Bailey stands John Kircher, deputy chairman of the board. Kircher's salary was \$436,260. His retirement pay was designated at \$118,690 a year. He owned stocks and options on 112,936 shares, worth over \$3 million.

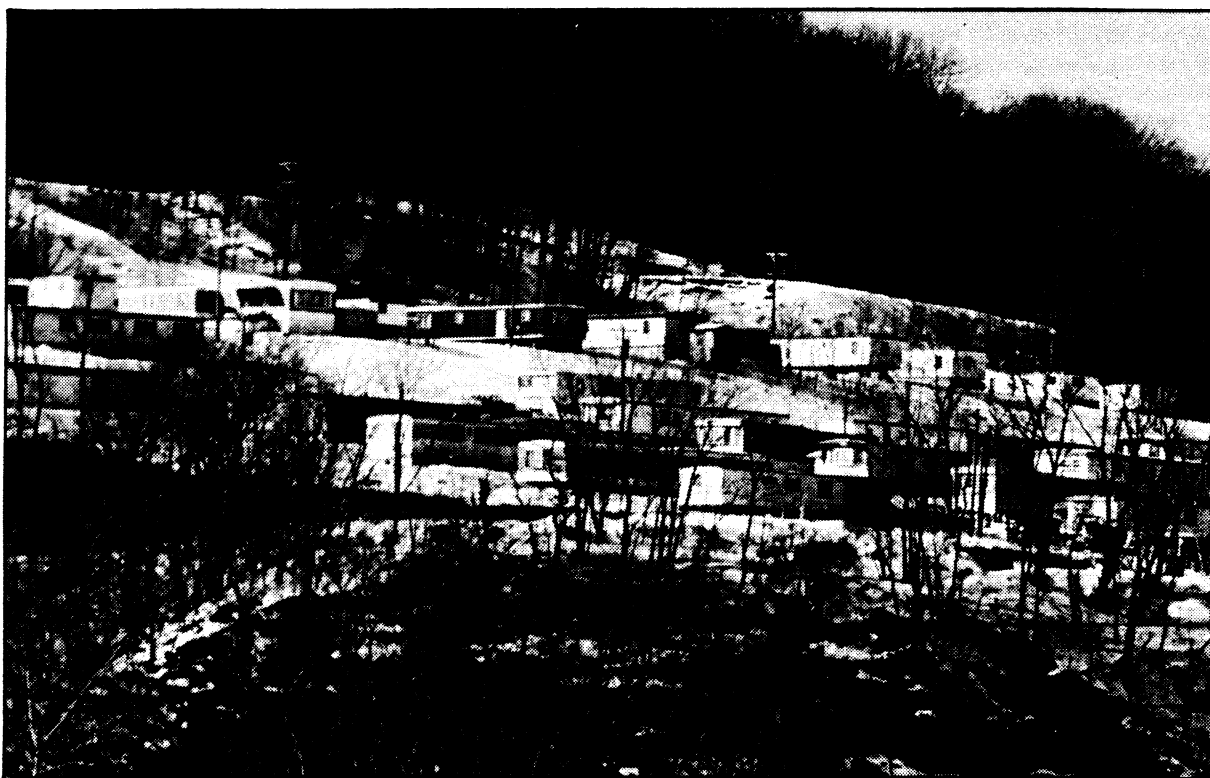
Finally, the chairman and chief executive officer of Continental is Howard Blauvelt, who pulls in \$512,192 annually. Blauvelt's guaranteed retirement was scheduled at \$134,742 a year. It was Blauvelt who engineered the Consolidation merger for Continental. He is also a director of Bankers Trust.

Chief Executives

The two other chief executives on Continental's board were Archie McCardell, former president and director of Xerox, and William Hewitt.

McCardell's 1976 salary at Xerox was \$788,697 including bonuses; in 1977 he was paid \$939,787 including bonuses. If coal miners were to earn the present agreed-upon daily wage of “nearly eighty-five dollars,” as the *New York Times* estimates it, they would have to work 11,056 days—that is, five days a week for forty-two and a half years—to earn as much as McCardell made in a single year. And they would still have nothing to show for it. No \$100,000 retirement plans for them!

Continued on page ISR/11



These mobile homes are typical of the living standards of miners who produce Consolidation Coal's profits.

Militant/Howard Petrick

...suffrage

Continued from page ISR/4

lethargy, Blatch founded the Equality League for Self-Supporting Women, an organization centered in New York and based on working women. Renamed the Women's Political Union (WPU) in 1910, this group initiated open-air meetings on street corners. The women became expert "soap boxers" in an era when that was the main way masses of people came into contact with political ideas. By October 1908, Blatch's organization had 19,000 members.

Recounting her involvement with the WPU in *From Parlor to Prison*, Laura Ellsworth Seiler remembered:

"I would say that we had at least ten or twelve women out of our office speaking on street corners every night. As I recall it, there were always two women; one would be the speaker and the other would give out pamphlets and things of that kind. . . . I remember once going to make a speech somewhere, and on the way up there on the train an idea occurred to me and I used it. I picked up a copy of the evening paper and held it up in front of them and took one headline after another and showed how the things talked about in that headline applied to women. I went all the way across the front page and there wasn't a single thing in the news in which women didn't have a stake. That was the thing we tried to get over."

In the course of referendum campaigns, the WPU organized open-air speaking tours throughout New York State and set up meetings outside plant gates in many upstate factory towns.

Indoor meetings took on a massive character. Often supported by broad coalitions of organizations such as the Women's Trade Union League and the clothing workers unions, these gatherings drew thousands.

Mass Demonstrations

These tactics were at first viewed with suspicion by the traditional leaders of the suffrage movement. The first mass suffrage parade got only reluctant support from established organizations such as the Woman Suffrage League of New York. In 1910 the WPU initiated a rally in Union Square that the *New York Times* called "the biggest suffrage demonstration ever held in the United States." In 1911 35,000 marched down Fifth Avenue. Ten thousand marched the following year.

A report in the April 5, 1912, *Baltimore American* commented:

"All along Fifth Avenue from Washington Square, where the parade formed, to 57th Street, where it disbanded, were gathered thousands of men and women of New York. They blocked every cross street on the line of march. Many were inclined to laugh and jeer, but none did. The sight of the impressive column of women striding five abreast up the middle of the street stifled all

thought of ridicule. They were typical, womanly American women . . . women doctors, women lawyers, splendid in their array of academic robes; women architects, women artists, actresses and sculptors; women waitresses, domestics; a huge division of industrial workers; women of the seven suffrage states in the Union; a big delegation from New Jersey; another from Connecticut . . . all marched with an intensity and purpose that astonished the crowds that lined the streets."

Wilson's Inauguration

On the eve of President Wilson's inauguration in 1913, suffragists led a "monster demonstration" in Washington, D.C. Organized by Alice Paul and the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage, which later seceded from NAWSA, they demanded passage of a suffrage amendment to the federal Constitution. Up until this point, most suffrage efforts had been concentrated on winning state suffrage laws.

Paul was a pacifist and settlement-house activist, who, like Blatch, had recently returned from England.

Thousands of women marched from the Capitol up Pennsylvania Avenue past the White House. Attacked by hoodlums as the police stood by, this dramatic demonstration received banner headlines in the newspapers for weeks and actually overshadowed the president's inauguration.

These demonstrations showed that building the suffrage movement among poor and working women did not bar involving women from other walks of life. On the contrary, it inspired all women who were interested in fighting for their rights and broadened the appeal of the movement to many sectors of society.

Mass demonstrations thus became "so successful a form of suffrage agitation," writes Eleanor Flexner in *Century of Struggle*, "that the alarm with which they were viewed at first soon seemed incomprehensible."

These actions changed the political map. Women who had feared ridicule if they defended suffrage became outspoken. Men who had taken women's incapacity for granted had their prejudices shaken. Capitalist politicians began to adjust their positions to take account of the new power of the women's movement. This was not the result of any single demonstration or rally but of the entire course of mobilizing women and their allies by the thousands in public expressions of support for suffrage. The demonstration gave the movement a cohesiveness and impact that could not have been obtained any other way.

Women and the War

One of the most common myths about the nineteenth amendment is that it was "given" to women by the Wilson administration as a reward for the patriotic services of women in World War I.

Carrie Chapman Catt and other leaders of NAWSA enthusiastically supported the U.S. declaration of war in April 1917. Their actions

basically flowed from a procapitalist and patriotic stance. They also saw World War I as an opportunity for women to enter new areas of the economy, replacing men sent to the front.

The leadership of NAWSA served on government bodies connected with propagandizing the war and carrying out other activities connected with the military effort. Carrie Chapman Catt and Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, another prominent figure in NAWSA, served on the Women's Committee of the Council for National Defense, which tried to organize the country's women into planting "liberty gardens," nursing, and selling war bonds.

Although Catt insisted it was possible to campaign for suffrage while supporting the war, U.S. entry into the war led to the end of the great suffrage parades, the decline of organized activity, and a deepening split in the suffrage organizations.

Catt's role at this time bears comparison with that of Clay and Gordon in the southern suffrage movement. They dropped their support for the suffrage amendment when they concluded that it would endanger white supremacy. Although Catt never ceased supporting the amendment, support for capitalism and capitalist war policies led her to effectively muffle the suffrage struggle for the war's duration.

As a NAWSA resolution in December 1917 put it (after warning against congressional delays in approving the amendment), "Loyalty to the Federal Amendment shall not take precedence over loyalty to the country." In the cases of Clay, Gordon, and Catt, loyalty to the system was placed higher than women's rights.

Not all women's organizations capitulated to the U.S. rulers during the war, however. The National Women's Party (formerly the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage), comprising pacifists such as Alice Paul and radicals such as Crystal Eastman and Mary Beard, opposed U.S. entry into the war. They denounced the hypocrisy of slogans about "making the world safe for democracy" when the suffrage amendment had not yet passed.

Shortly before war was declared, the NWP inaugurated a new tactic—picket lines at the White House. When the ambassador from Russia's new provisional government called at the White House in 1917, demonstrators were there to greet him with a banner that contrasted women's voting rights in the two countries (the February 1917 revolution in Russia had led to the enfranchisement of all adult women in the former Tsarist empire).

Whenever Wilson made a speech about democracy during the war, NWP demonstrators responded by publicly burning copies of the speech.

The spirit of jingoism and war hysteria whipped up by the ruling class spurred hoodlums and cops to harass the small picket lines. In June 1917 the picketers were arrested. In prison they were brutally mistreated.

Although denounced throughout the capitalist media and disavowed angrily by Carrie Chapman Catt and NAWSA, the NWP refused to back down.

The attacks on the NWP were part of a broader administration assault against any who suggested that the struggles of workers and oppressed in the United States should not be subordinated to the war aims of the U.S. capitalists. It was at this time that Socialist Party leaders Eugene V. Debs and Kate Richards O'Hare were imprisoned for making antiwar speeches.

How Suffrage Won

In *Womanhood in America* Mary Ryan estimates that as many as 2 million women were active in the campaign to win the vote. It was this mass activity—and the support it generated in the rest of the population—that assured the victory of suffrage. By 1917 the main battles had already been won, and an overwhelmingly favorable public opinion had been created.

Woodrow Wilson endorsed the suffrage amendment for the first time in January 1918 and called for its adoption by the Senate in September as a "war measure." This was not an indication of gratitude for the support NAWSA had given Wilson, but of his fear that any other course could spark a revival of the mass movement, disrupting the imperialist war effort. Although the NWP actions were quite small, they were a continual reminder to Wilson of what



The Women's Trade Union League, founded in 1903, fought for the right to vote while organizing working women into the unions.

SUFFRAGE FORCES VICTORIOUS

RATIFICATION COMES AFTER BITTER FIGHT

RATE DECISION
IS RE

House Votes 50 to 46 to Ratify Amendment A

might happen if women concluded they were being betrayed by the administration.

Revolutionary ferment spread throughout much of the world during and after the war. A working-class revolution under Bolshevik leadership triumphed in Russia in October 1917. The revolutionary propaganda of the Bolsheviks directed at working people all over the world stressed the phoniness of capitalist democracy and the superiority of the proletarian democracy that the workers of the former Tsarist empire were seeking to establish. The popular appeal of the Russian revolution put additional pressure on the capitalist rulers to refurbish their democratic image through reforms such as women's suffrage.

Approach to Elections

The problem of how to deal with elections in those states where women could vote was one of the most complicated issues that faced the women's movement. No common approach was established. As is the case today, women and women's organizations that could unite for a suffrage march followed very different courses in the electoral arena. It is useful to examine the different electoral approaches adopted by feminists of that time.

Carrie Chapman Catt advocated "neutrality" for NAWSA in the political field. However, she managed under that cover to forge increasingly close ties with the Wilson administration. Wilson appeared at the 1916 convention of NAWSA, even though he had refused to support suffrage. Catt became a virtual adviser to Wilson, and their alliance came to full fruition with the U.S. entry into World War I.

Not everyone found Catt's support to Wilson and the Democrats palatable, however. Alice Paul represented a group that advocated a "protest vote." Since at that point the Democratic Party controlled the presidency and both houses of Congress, Paul proposed that the suffragist movement hold the Democratic Party responsible for blocking women's right to vote. She called upon prosuffrage voters to refrain from voting for any Democrat. Paul held that individual voters could vote Republican, Socialist, or Progressive—anything but Democratic.

Paul thought the Democratic Party would reverse its opposition to suffrage if it saw votes falling off as a result: "When we have once affected the result in a national election, no party will trifle with suffrage any longer."

After this strategy was adopted by the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage in the 1914 elections, campaign headquarters were opened in every suffrage state. Public meetings were held, and leaflets were distributed exposing the Democratic Party's record on suffrage. Of the forty-three Democrats who ran for Congress, only twenty won. Although the Congressional Union did not claim that any specific legislator was defeated because of prosuffrage activity, its leaders felt they had forced the Democrats to take notice of women's suffrage.

A 'Protest Vote'

In 1916, the Congressional Union initiated the National Woman's Party. It never became a real party, however, since it ran no candidates and presented no general program for how society should be organized. It remained an organization devoted to the struggle for women's right to vote.

When Wilson ran for a second term in 1916, the NWP again called for a vote against all Democrats in Congress and against President Wilson.

As opposed to Wilson's slogan, "He kept us out of war," the NWP issued the watchword, "He kept us out of suffrage."

Paul outlined the strategy governing the campaign:

"It seems to me that it does not make much difference, as far as our amendment is concerned, whether Mr. Wilson or Mr. Hughes is elected in November, but it does make a great deal of difference whether the women voters have supported Mr. Wilson or have registered a protest vote against him. If, after the way he has persistently opposed the national enfranchisement of women, voting women flock to his support it would make it exceedingly difficult in the next Congress to secure respectful treatment for the suffrage amendment from any party."

Despite Paul's militancy, this approach remained trapped within the confines of the capitalist two-party system. It diverted energies from trying to mobilize women into trying to pressure capitalist legislators through protest votes, usually for their Republican opponents who were no better.

This tactic ignored the basic fact that the ruling class—the class that profits from a sexist social structure—controls both the Democratic and Republican parties. A vote for one to "protest" the other is completely ineffective.

Socialist Women

There were women who did not waste their votes in order to court or punish Democrats. These women voted for and helped to build a real alternative party—a working-class party that provided real and powerful assistance to the battle for suffrage even though it never came close to challenging the Democrats and Republicans for top national offices. This was the Socialist Party.

The roots this party had in the working-class movement, and the fact that it was not financially dependent on or politically controlled by the ruling rich, made it much more responsive to the struggles and demands of the oppressed than the Republicans and Democrats.

This party had many weaknesses. Within it were revolutionists and reformists, chauvinists and internationalists, union bureaucrats and militant workers, racists and antiracists, sexists and feminists. These contradictions eventually led to the party to split under the impact of World War I and the Russian revolution, dividing it into a revolutionary current (the early Communist Party) and a hardened reformist formation (the remains of the Socialist Party).

Despite these failings, Socialist Party members brought a unique perspective to the feminist movement that helped foster its revival and transformation into a mass movement. They saw the struggle for women's rights as part of the class struggle and recognized that in order to win the right to vote, the working class and its allies would have to be mobilized.

At its founding convention the Socialist Party adopted a stand for "equal political and civil rights for women." Women belonging to the Socialist Party published the profeminist newspaper *Socialist Woman*, which pressed the party for more energetic support of the suffrage struggle and eventually became the organ of the SP's Women's National Committee.

A discussion at the 1908 convention discussed "Women and their Relation to the Socialist Party" and reaffirmed the position of the founding convention. Mila Tupper Maynard, who had given the majority report at the 1908 convention, explained how many women's rights fighters

were coming to view the Socialist Party:

"... Our demand for suffrage is backed up by a working-class party that knows what it wants and has the power to enforce it. ... Reforms have proved to be utterly nothing and worse than nothing, were it not that they are backed by a revolutionary party that can enforce its demands by its whole organization, by the whole philosophy of a party that means victory in the end."

Socialist Party and Suffrage

In 1910 the Socialist Party issued a call for a nationally coordinated suffrage action on the fourth Sunday in February. With dozens of socialist papers carrying special articles on the suffrage campaign, and with leaflets written in the languages of the various immigrant workers, the party organized a significant show of strength. The success of this day inspired the party to propose to the congress of the Second International that the action become an international event—celebrated around the world on March 8 as International Women's Day.

At the party convention in 1910 the Socialist Party voted to add the following clause to its platform:

"Whereas, Woman's position in industry is of a much lower status than man's as the direct result of her political disqualifications, and

"Whereas, The Socialist Party is the direct representative of the working class, regardless of sex, therefore be it

"Resolved, that the Socialist Party demands equal suffrage, regardless of sex, color or race, and pledges itself to work, advocate and agitate for it."

The Socialist Party was able to influence sectors of the population that the organized suffrage movement had not been able to reach.

The party was growing—it had 40,000 members in 1908, and its numbers increased in succeeding years.

Between 1896 and 1910 no state had been added to the suffrage column. The transformation of the movement in the next decade, accomplished in part through the influence of women associated with the Socialist Party and through the prosuffrage activity of the party itself, turned the tide and led to victory.

The Socialist Party played an important—and perhaps decisive—role in winning suffrage in at least five states: California, Kansas, and Nevada in 1912; New York and Oklahoma in 1917. In both Nevada and Kansas the party campaigned vigorously for suffrage—and only the areas regarded as socialist strongholds tipped the scales for a suffrage amendment.

In California suffrage won by a little more than 3,500 votes. In that same election, Socialist presidential candidate Eugene V. Debs polled more than 10 percent of the vote. The votes brought out by the Socialist Party provided the margin of victory.

The Oklahoma constitution required that the number of votes in favor of an amendment had to exceed not only the negative votes, but also all the blank votes. The governor, lieutenant-governor, and other top state officials bitterly opposed the suffrage bill, and officials demonstrated their "neutrality" by printing up half as many ballots on the suffrage question as for other issues being voted on.

But in Oklahoma the socialists were nearly as strong as the Democrats and Republicans. By 1910 there were more paid-up socialists in Oklahoma than in any other state in the country. The party's work for suffrage was a factor in ensuring that sharecroppers, farmers, and workers turned out to vote for the amendment.

New York Referendum

In New York suffrage was secured in 1917 after a series of defeats. Morris Hillquit, socialist candidate for mayor of New York City, urged his

opponents to join with him in a joint plea to the voters for passage of the amendment. His plea rejected, he devoted a major portion of his campaign to the referendum issue.

Socialists held nightly suffrage meetings throughout the city in conjunction with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers union and the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. Suffrage carried New York City by a wide margin and did well in upstate areas where the socialist vote was heavy. In Rochester, the *Herald*, a local newspaper, commented, "Wherever the Socialist . . . propaganda made headway . . . the suffrage vote automatically increased."

It was little wonder that Ida Husted Harper told congressional hearings in 1912 that the Socialist Party was "the only one which declared for woman suffrage and thereby gives women an opportunity to come out and stand by it."

(Actually, the much smaller Socialist Labor Party headed by Daniel De Leon also strongly supported women's suffrage.)

The record of the Socialist Party, while far from perfect, made a striking contrast with the stands and actions of the Democratic and Republican parties.

Writing in August 1914, Louise Kneeland summed up some lessons of the Socialist Party's experience: "The socialist who is not a Feminist

lacks breadth. The Feminist who is not a Socialist is lacking in strategy. To the narrow-minded Socialist who says: 'Socialism is a working class movement for the freedom of the working class, with woman as woman we have nothing to do,' the far-sighted Feminist will reply: 'The Socialist movement is the only means whereby woman as woman can obtain real freedom. Therefore I must work for it.'"

Many things have changed since women won the right to vote in 1920. Nonetheless, the experiences of that struggle shed more than a little light on the difficulties the women's movement confronts today in developing a strategy that can successfully defend what women have gained and conquer new ground.

No single strategy ever won uncontested sway in the suffrage movement. Even at the very height of the struggle, currents favoring independent mass actions based on poor and working women confronted powerful figures such as Catt, who favored reliance on the good will of the government and capitalist politicians. On some occasions advocates of class collaboration such as Catt adopted mass-action methods, while some defenders of mass action gave support to Democratic and Republican politicians.

Some general lessons can be discerned. The women's movement grew stronger when it insisted firmly on the demand for unrestricted

women's suffrage and weaker when concessions were made on this. It grew stronger the more it sought to identify with, defend, and mobilize poor, working-class, and Black women. It grew stronger when it mobilized in the streets in a way that showed the real power of masses of women and their supporters. It grew stronger the more it looked for support to the tens of millions of working people rather than to Democratic and Republican officeholders.

The suffrage movement also tells us something about the link between the struggle for socialism and the battle for women's rights. It shows that the women's movement was strengthened by the struggles of labor at home and abroad and weakened when these struggles ebbed. The reverse was also true: the labor movement drew additional strength when women went into battle against their oppression.

Those women who were most independent of the capitalist politicians and parties and most opposed to the capitalist system were the most uncompromising and consistent supporters of suffrage. That is because the battle for women's rights is deeply intertwined with the struggle to replace capitalism—a system that needs the oppression of women—with socialism, a society of equality and plenty for all.

...coal

Continued from page ISR/8

McCardell is also a director of General Foods and American Express.

William Hewitt married Patricia Deere Wiman in 1948. Since then he has risen steadily in the administration of the John Deere tractor firm, of which he is now the president. He is also a director of Continental Illinois Railroad and the American Telephone and Telegraph Company.

Hewitt is frequently chosen for the prestigious think-tanks where the most important political decisions are made. He serves on the international advisory committee of Chase Manhattan Bank. He is a member of the Business Council, the Committee for Economic Development, and the Council on Foreign Relations.

Most notably, Hewitt is on the Trilateral Commission. This New York organization was founded in 1973 by Chase Manhattan Bank Chairman David Rockefeller. It has provided most of the top officials of the Carter administration—including Carter and Vice-president Walter Mondale.

Other Think-tankers

Continental's board also includes Charles Anderson, previously in the Industry Advisory Council of the Defense Department and now president and director of Stanford Research Institute. Anderson is also a director of Envirotech, Owens-Corning Fiberglass, and National Cash Register.

The corporate and military credentials of Frank Pace, Jr., another military specialist on Continental's board, could form the subject of a separate article. Pace has been chairman of General Dynamics, director of the American Council in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, head of the president's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board. Today he is a member of the Stanford Research Institute and of the institute's Strategic Studies Center. Pace is chairman of the board of visitors of the United States Air Force Systems Command and a member of the Brookings Institution. He is on the board of directors of seven corporations in addition to CONOCO, including Time, Inc.

In addition, Continental's board includes four bankers.

Among them is William Donaldson, founder and former chief executive officer of the Wall Street investment banking firm of Donaldson, Lufkin and Jenrette. He was undersecretary of state in 1973-74, a counsel to the governors of New York, Puerto Rico, and the New York Stock Exchange, and a trustee of the Ford Foundation.

Another banker on Continental's board is Charles Buek, the former chairman and chief

executive officer of New York's United States Trust bank. U.S. Trust is the fifth-largest holder of trust funds in the United States.

It is a big social and historical jump from the Maryland coalfields of the Civil War days, where Consolidation Coal was founded, to the suburban Connecticut mansions where the chief executive officers of Continental Oil live now. The face of the United States has changed many times over, and industry—including the coal industry—has been revolutionized more than once.

Comparing Consolidation Coal of 1864 to Continental Oil in 1978 provides an overview of the global expansion of U.S. imperialism from the boardroom of one energy trust.

However, a social factor persists throughout this history and, in fact, underlies it. America is no less class-divided today than it was when Consol was formed. In fact, U.S. imperialists have grown into the most powerful ruling class in the world, and the primary basis of their power is the exploitation of American workers.

The wealth of the owners of CONOCO and Consol rests on the ruthless exploitation of workers such as those who died in the Farmington mine disaster in 1968 and of the workers who are fighting for decent safety conditions and health care today.

The members of the United Mine Workers union are not merely confronting greedy and old-fashioned coal operators who haven't caught up with "modern" labor relations.

The decision to take on the miners, to degrade their working conditions and safety, was made by the power centers of American imperialism—the Morgan, Rockefeller, Mellon, Hanna, and other ruling-class interests.

The contract the mineowners are trying to force down the throats of UMWA members is therefore not an aberration. The ruling class is testing its capacity to squeeze more profits from the American workers by forcing them to accept deteriorating working conditions, and an ever-smaller share of the wealth they produce. If the capitalists are successful in beating down the miners, other unions will become targets of escalating attacks.

Nor will the capitalist government help the mine workers, despite its claim to represent the "public interest." President Carter, who has hobnobbed with Continental top executive William Hewitt at gatherings of the Trilateral Commission, will exert might and main to protect and increase the profits of the ruling class.

The miners' struggle is an important test of strength between the working class and the arrogant masters of American capitalism. To defeat such powerful opponents, the miners need the support and solidarity of the entire labor movement.



BOOK OF THE MONTH

The end of the Second World War marked the peak of American world power. So overwhelming did American economic and military might appear to be that capitalist publicists predicted an "American century" of world domination.

The Socialist Workers Party dissented sharply from this chorus. Defending the revolutionary socialist standpoint, James P. Cannon, national secretary of the party, argued that American imperialism was no exception to the laws of the class struggle. He said that given proper leadership the American workers had the fighting capacity to overthrow it and create a new, more just socialist order.

Cannon defended this view in 1946 in such articles and speeches as "The Theses on the American Revolution," "The Coming American Revolution," and in his report to the SWP Political Committee on the theses. These are included in the most recent volume of Cannon's writings and speeches, *The Struggle for Socialism in the "American Century."*

Cannon's writings on the revolutionary perspective in the United States make valuable reading today, particularly when studied in conjunction with the resolutions and reports published in *Prospects for Socialism in America* (available from Pathfinder Press).

U.S. imperialism is on the offensive against the jobs and living standards of working people, and this is forcing workers, in sheer self-defense, to take the first steps toward challenging capitalist rule. This situation gives new meaning to Cannon's 1946 writings.

The Struggle for Socialism in the

'The Struggle for Socialism in the American Century' Pathfinder's March Discount Offer

"American Century" covers the period from December 1944, when Cannon was released from prison after being jailed under the Smith Act for his socialist and antiwar views, to the full-scale outbreak of the cold war and the anticommunist witch-hunt in 1947.

A substantial part of this book consists of discussions on the prospects for fusion between the SWP and the Workers Party, a group led by Max Shachtman, which had split from the SWP in 1940. This grouping opposed the SWP's position of defending the Soviet Union against imperialist attack. Although no fusion took place, Cannon's speeches and articles on the topic are a valuable guide to the considerations that make principled fusions possible and desirable.

One of the last items in this volume is "American Stalinism and Anti-Stalinism," originally published as a series in the *Militant* and then as a pamphlet. It has been out of print for several decades.

This article is the best introduction to Stalinism that the American Marxist movement has produced. Cannon explained how Stalinism grew out of the degeneration of the Russian revolution, why it is a completely counterrevolutionary current in the workers movement, and why workers gain nothing by supporting "democratic" American imperialism against the Stalinists. Cannon answered the arguments of social-democratic figures who refused to defend Communist Party members against the developing witch-hunt. This article is must reading for anyone beginning a study of Stalinism. —Fred Feldman



JAMES P. CANNON

The Struggle for Socialism in the "American Century" is available for \$3.75, discounted from its regular price of \$4.95, from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Send check or money order or return this coupon to one of the socialist bookstores

listed on page 31. Offer expires April 30, 1978.

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BOOKS RECEIVED

Antonio Maceo: The 'Bronze Titan' of Cuba's Struggle for Independence by Philip S. Foner. Monthly Review. 340 pp. \$15.00.

Autobiographies of the Haymarket Martyrs. Edited by Philip S. Foner. Monad (distributed by Pathfinder Press). 198 pp. \$3.95 paper.

Capitalist Patriarchy and the Case for Socialist Feminism. Edited by Zillah R. Eisenstein. Monthly Review. 394 pp. \$16.50.

China's Economy and the Maoist Strategy by John G. Gurley. Monthly Review. 325 pp. \$15.00.

Chutzpah: A Jewish Liberation Anthology. Edited by Steven Lubet et al. New Glide. 191 pp. \$5.95 paper.

Contemporary Soviet Politics: An Introduction by Donald D. Barry and Carol Barner-Barry. Prentice-Hall. 406 pp. \$8.95 paper.

A Critique of Soviet Economics by Mao Tsetung. Monthly Review. 157 pp. \$10.00.

The Crowned Cannibals: Writings on Repression in Iran by Reza Baraheni. Vintage. 279 pp. \$3.95 paper.

The End of Prosperity: The American Economy in the 1970s by Harry Magdoff and Paul M. Sweezy. Monthly Review. 136 pp. \$7.95.

Georg Lukács by G. H. R. Parkinson. Routledge & Kegan Paul. 205 pp. \$10.95.

The Great Labor Uprising of 1877 by Philip S. Foner. Monad (distributed by Pathfinder Press). 288 pp. \$12 cloth. \$3.95 paper.

How Capitalism Works by Pierre Jalee. Monthly Review. 125 pp. \$3.95 paper.

Imperialism & Unequal Development. Essays by Samir Amin. Monthly Review. 267 pp. \$12.95.

Inside India Today by Dilip Hiro. Monthly Review. 338 pp. \$15.

Law and the Rise of Capitalism by Michael E. Tigar and Madeleine R. Levy. Monthly Review. 346 pp. \$16.00.

The Life and Death of Trotsky by Robert Payne. McGraw-Hill. 498 pp. \$14.95.

Living With Capitalism: Class Relations and the Modern Factory by Theo Nichols and Huw Beynon. Routledge & Kegan Paul. 204 pp. \$12.75 cloth. \$5.75 paper.

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Opposition and Dissent in Contemporary China by Peter R. Moody. Hoover Institution. 342 pp.

Our America: Writings on Latin America and the Struggle for Cuban Independence by José Martí. Edited, with and introduc-

tion and notes, by Philip S. Foner. 448 pp. \$16.50.

Our Great Spring Victory: An Account of the Liberation of South Vietnam by General Van Tien Dung. Monthly Review. 275 pp. \$15.00.

A New World Ideology by Winston Eshleman. Vantage. 133 pp. \$6.95.

Property Rights: Philosophic Foundations by Lawrence C. Becker. Routledge & Kegan Paul. 135 pp. \$8.95.

Pseudoscience and Mental Ability: The Origins and Fallacies of the IQ Controversy by Jeffrey M. Blum. Monthly Review. 240 pp. \$13.95.

A Radical Life by Vera Buch Weisbord. Indiana University. 330 pp. \$15.00.

Sexism & Science by Evelyn Reed. Pathfinder. 190 pp. \$12 cloth. \$3.45 paper.

The Vast Majority: A Journey to the World's Poor by Michael Harrington. Simon and Schuster. 281 pp. \$9.95.

Sami Esmail fights Israeli gov't frame-up

By Thomas Spaniola

EAST LANSING, Mich.—Sami Esmail, an American-born U.S. citizen of Palestinian descent, has been in an Israeli prison since December 21.

He was arrested by police as he stepped off a plane at Ben Gurion Airport.

The authorities charged that Esmail, twenty-three, is a member of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP). They also charge that Esmail traveled to Libya in August 1976 to be trained in the use of explosives.

These charges carry penalties totaling twenty-five years in prison.

Esmail is an honors graduate student in electrical engineering at Michigan State University here. He went to Israel because that was the only way he could visit his eighty-six-year-old father, who was on his death bed in the village of Birek in the Israeli-occupied West Bank of the Jordan River.

Israeli authorities did not notify Esmail's family of his arrest. Instead they threw him into solitary confinement at Beit ha-Tikva Prison near Tel Aviv and began beating him.

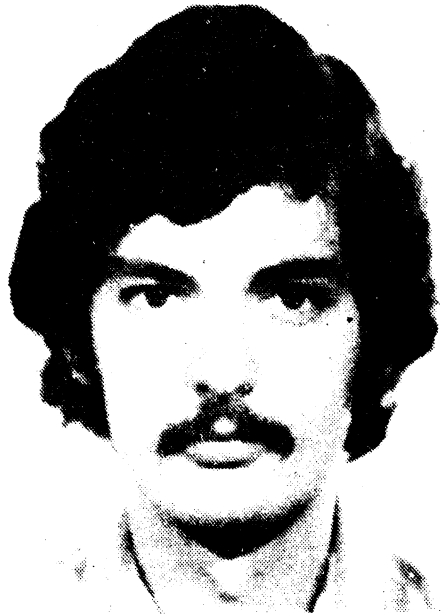
Esmail was not permitted to see his lawyer, Felicia Langer, until seven days later.

When Langer finally did meet him, she reported that Esmail "was subjected to prolonged, (almost nonstop) investigation by many interrogators for days. . . ."

Authorities threatened that Esmail would remain in jail indefinitely and that members of his family would also be arrested and beaten if he did not talk.

Sami Esmail finally signed a "confession"—written in Hebrew, a language he neither speaks nor understands!

Basim Esmail, Sami's brother, says



SAMI ESMAIL

Michigan State News

When Basim Esmail spoke to American Consul James Kerr, Jr., in Tel Aviv, Kerr advised against requesting an official U.S. protest because "they would probably torture your brother more if we sent it. Besides," Kerr added, "what government doesn't torture its prisoners?"

A National Committee for the Defense of the Human Rights of Sami Esmail has been formed. Three hundred people attended the committee's first public meeting here January 17.

The committee demands that charges against Esmail be dropped. Abdeen Jabara, a Detroit lawyer and activist on behalf of Palestinian human rights, says the committee has already won several victories, including: a promise by Israeli authorities to

have a partially open trial; the lifting of a gag order on Felicia Langer; and acknowledgement by the State Department and Israeli officials that Esmail had been mistreated after his arrest.

But, despite these gains, Esmail remains in danger. As one of his torturers told the young Palestinian, "There is no democracy in Israel, you left it on the plane. Democracy is only for foreign consumption."

Sami Esmail's trial is now scheduled to begin in March. His defense committee is urging that messages of protest be sent to the Israeli embassy in Washington, as well as to the State Department. For more information, write: National Committee to Defend the Human Rights of Sami Esmail, 1118 South Harrison Road, East Lansing, Michigan 48823. Telephone: (517) 351-4648 or 349-1738.

Protests in Bethlehem

By Peter Seidman

The Palestinian students at Bethlehem University recently got a taste of the "human rights" dished out by the Israeli military government on the West Bank of the Jordan River.

On December 16 five students were arrested and charged with participating in "an unauthorized gathering during which a Palestinian flag was displayed and political speeches were heard."

The gathering took place December 13. It was a rally of nearly 700 people protesting the betrayal of the Palestinian national liberation struggle represented by the trip of Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat to Jerusalem.

The five students pleaded not

guilty. Their attorney, Lea Tsemel, says the charges against them are a violation of the right to free speech of all those on campus. The five are currently free on bail of 10,000 Israeli pounds (about \$656) each.

Tsemel reports it is clear "that the Bethlehem authorities are watching closely over the activities of students at the university."

On January 8, Judge Asaf Kaspi found seven other Bethlehem University students represented by Tsemel guilty on a charge of publishing political material without permission from the military governor.

The students, who were arrested last July, were fined 3,000 Israeli pounds (about \$197) each and given six-month suspended sentences.

Puerto Ricans battle US Navy on fishing rights

By Alexis Irizarry

On the afternoon of February 6, the U.S. Coast Guard arrested three fishermen on the southern coast of Puerto Rico.

The fishermen—Antonio Ayala, Enrique García, and Severino Ventura—were accused of "criminal trespassing on navy waters."

Those arrested took part in a protest of fishermen that day against "Operation Springboard" naval bombardments. "Springboard" consists of naval and aerial target practice carried out yearly by the U.S. Navy, together with British, West German, Dutch, Canadian, and Brazilian naval units.

These war games are carried out on the coasts and beaches of Vieques, a

BULLETIN: Faced with ongoing protests, including one on February 25 in which two men were arrested, the U.S. Navy announced February 26 that it was suspending war games off the Puerto Rican island of Vieques for "a few days."

Puerto Rican island and municipality. Of Vieques's 33,000 acres, some 27,000 are occupied by the U.S. Navy.

The 8,000 inhabitants of the island rely mainly on fishing for their livelihood. They were confronted with a sudden order restricting them to a small section of the coast.

When the fishermen tried to exercise their right to earn a living in their regular fishing areas, U.S. warships and helicopters launched a brutal attack against them.

One Coast Guard ship rammed the fishing boat Esperanza II, causing serious damage. When another fishing boat, the Esperanza I, approached the



'U.S. Navy helicopters hovered a few yards from protesters' boats, creating big waves in an attempt to swamp them.'

Claridad

damaged boat to give aid, the Coast Guard ship nearly rammed it too.

These attacks were accompanied by rifle fire from U.S. officials, thereby endangering the lives of the fishermen, reporters, and others who were observing the protests.

The U.S. Navy also deployed helicopters, which hovered a few yards from

the boats, creating big waves, in an attempt to swamp them.

When they returned to port in Vieques, the demonstrators and arrested fishermen were received as heroes by the rest of the population. The reason is not hard to find.

Bombardment near Vieques's coast and occupation of most of the island

by the U.S. Navy has a long history. Reporter Manuel Silva Casanova offered a dramatic account of how the population of Vieques has suffered at the hands of the U.S. Navy in the February 18 *El Nuevo Día*.

He says "thousands of Viequesenses" had to leave when the navy occupied the island forty years ago. He speaks of the exile of the youth of Vieques caused by the lack of educational opportunities past high school. He talks about "the time that a [navy] bomb killed one of the Legrands" and of the time when "a military plane crashed into the balcony of a house, a few meters from a school and a warehouse containing tanks of propane gas."

The reporter talks about how once a group of "drunken sailors" murdered "the old man Pepe Christian."

Another bloody incident Silva Casanova mentions is the "'civilian-military war' when some 100 sailors attacked the town park leaving seven wounded, among them two children."

In reaction to such attacks, residents of Vieques began organizing to eject the navy. In this, the residents of Vieques are following the example of Culebra, another Puerto Rican island. Through a determined struggle, the residents of Culebra forced the navy to get off their island in 1975.

The Association of Fishermen of Vieques, Puerto Rican Socialist Party, Puerto Rican Independence Party, unaffiliated citizens, and the mayor of Vieques have all expressed their determination to continue fighting to expel the navy.

Mayor Radamés Tirado told reporters, "We will talk with members of Congress, with the press, with the American people. We will go to the United Nations if that becomes necessary."

Panamanian debates U.S. senator, Reaganite

By José G. Pérez

A three-way debate with a U.S. senator and an advisor to Ronald Reagan has been the highlight of the first few weeks of Panamanian revolutionist Miguel Antonio Bernal's tour of the United States.

Bernal was exiled from Panama for his opposition to the dictatorship of Gen. Omar Torrijos. He is a founder of the Liga Socialista Revolucionaria (LSR—Revolutionary Socialist League), the Panamanian sister organization of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party, and a well-known opponent of U.S. imperialist domination over the Panama Canal.

On February 14 Bernal debated Sen. Alan Cranston and Reaganite Donald Dozer at the University of Southern California. Some 130 people attended the event, sponsored by the International Affairs and Political Science departments and by the Associated Students Speakers Bureau.

Cranston and Dozer presented the tweedledee-tweedledum viewpoints that have dominated discussion on the proposed Panama Canal treaties in the United States Senate:

- Cranston urged ratification of the treaties as the best way of guaranteeing continued U.S. control of the canal.

- Dozer urged rejection of the treaties as the best way of guaranteeing continued U.S. control of the canal.

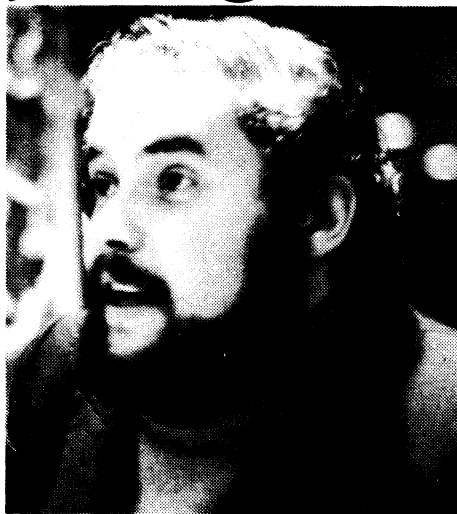
Bernal, on the other hand, said that the Panamanian people alone have a right to control their own country—their *whole* country, including the canal. He said that no matter how the Senate votes, the Panamanian people will continue their struggle to rid their country of U.S. domination.

A straw poll was taken following the debate and question-and-answer period. Bernal's position of immediate U.S. withdrawal received more than half the votes.

A few days earlier Bernal had taken part in another debate sponsored by the Associated Students of Arizona State University in Phoenix. Bernal again won the vote—this time by a plurality—after squaring off with A. Wayne Murphy, commander of the Sun City American Legion Post, and Sid Rosen, cochairman of the Arizona Committee of Americans for the Canal Treaties.

During the first three weeks of his tour, Bernal also spoke in Houston; Albuquerque; Salt Lake City; Champaign, Illinois; St. Paul; and New York City.

In Albuquerque he appeared at a



Militant/José G. Pérez
MIGUEL ANTONIO BERNAL

news conference at the Albuquerque Press Club that was covered by all three TV stations and both daily newspapers.

Through Bernal's meetings and media coverage of his tour, thousands of U.S. citizens are for the first time hearing a radically different position on the Panama issue—that of the Panamanian people.

One point Bernal has emphasized repeatedly in his public appearances is that the vote for the treaties in last October's plebiscite in Panama does not reflect the real sentiment of the Panamanian people.

Most of that 66 percent majority, Bernal says, reflected acceptance of the phony claims by dictator Torrijos that the new pact would lead to U.S. withdrawal from all of Panama. Now that Panamanians have had more time to learn what the treaties really say, there is broad agreement that the pact would face much stiffer opposition and probably even lose if put up for a vote again.

Bernal explained that Torrijos was able to get away with this swindle through his absolute control over the news media and his shady vote counting.

Following is the schedule for the remainder of Bernal's tour:

March 6-7	Miami
March 8-10	San Francisco
March 13	Denver
March 14-15	Los Angeles-San Diego

More information on the tour can be obtained from: Viewpoint Speakers Bureau, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Telephone (212) 741-0690.

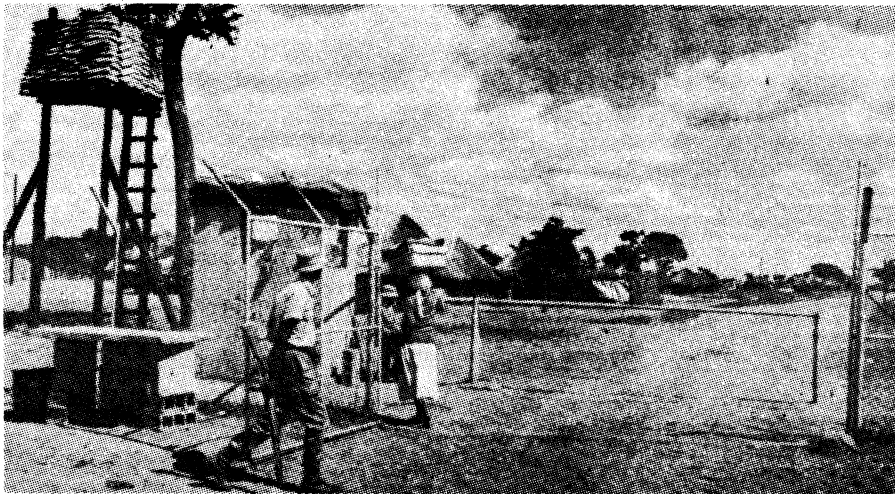
World news notes

'Free fire zones' in Rhodesia

Taking a leaf from the Pentagon's policy in Vietnam, the white minority regime in Rhodesia has declared the Maranke tribal trust land, close to the Mozambique border, and an adjoining area set aside for independent Black farmers, a virtual "free fire zone."

The area's 80,000 African inhabitants have been accused by the racist regime of aiding Black nationalist guerrillas. As a result, young people up to the age of sixteen will be shot on sight if they venture outside their villages "at any time, either day or night."

Pamphlets dropped by government planes—presumably those families not



Black villages in Zimbabwe, such as Madziwa (above), are run like prisons by the racist Rhodesian regime.

fortunate enough to have been notified by the pamphlet drop will learn about the contents the hard way—also announced a daily *dusk-to-noon* curfew. Violators will be shot.

"You have disregarded previous warnings of the bitter times that will fall upon you if you allow these Communist terrorists to carry on deceiving you," the pamphlets say.

The pamphlets prohibit Blacks from going on or near any high ground, bar the use of any vehicles, including bicycles and buses, and require that all schools and stores be closed.

Although these brutal measures have been in effect for some time, Rhodesian censorship prevented them from being reported until a Black legislator denounced them in a speech on the Parliament floor. Such speeches are exempted from censorship regulations.

Nicaraguan dictator hangs on despite protests

Speaking from a bulletproof booth in the Nicaraguan capital of Managua February 26, President Anastasio Somoza Debayle vowed he would remain in power until 1981. Following the dictator's refusal to resign, demonstrators took to the streets in several cities, chanting, "Death to Somoza!" "Somoza resign!" and "We want democracy!"

Massive protests have been continuing in Nicaragua ever since the assassination January 10 of Pedro Joaquín Chamorro, a prominent opponent of the Somoza regime. Numerous deaths have been reported as a result of attacks on protesters by Somoza's National Guard.

Political marches banned in London

Claiming that it was acting to forestall racial violence inspired by the ultraright National Front, the British Labour government has banned *all* political marches in the Greater London area for a two-month period. The ban on demonstrations, which will prevent both *antiracist* and *antifascist* organizations from protesting in the streets, was carried out under a law from the 1930s allegedly aimed against Sir Oswald Mosley's pro-Nazi Blackshirts.

Dissident workers disappear in Moscow

Dissident Soviet workers who recently formed an unofficial trade union reported February 27 that five of their members had disappeared after being arrested and that two others have been committed to psychiatric hospitals by the authorities. Among those who disappeared was Vladimir Klebanov, a former coal miner who led the formation of the union. Klebanov has not been heard from since he was seized by security police in Moscow on February 7.

Robert Mangalisco Sobukwe dies

Robert Mangalisco Sobukwe, founder of the Pan-Africanist Congress, died in Kimberley, South Africa, February 27. Sobukwe, who broke with the African National Congress in the mid-1950s, charging that it was too slow and conservative, spent the last eighteen years of his life either in prison or under police restrictions.

He was arrested in March 1960, after the Sharpeville massacre in which South African police murdered sixty-one people protesting new identity card laws directed against Blacks. Sobukwe, who participated in the demonstration, was sentenced to three years in prison for inciting Blacks to defy the law requiring pass books.

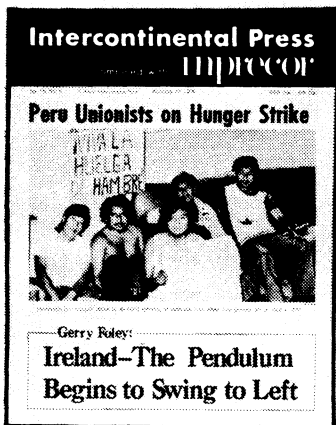
When his term was over, the government refused to release him from the Robben Island concentration camp. Instead, it passed a special law allowing the detention of prisoners after the completion of their sentences if their release would further "the aim of Communism."

Sobukwe was held on Robben Island for six more years before being conditionally released.

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Socialist Workers Party comes to North Carolina

By David Frankel

Since the end of the 1960s, the Socialist Workers Party has made big strides toward establishing itself as a genuinely national party, a party with roots in every area of the country. The SWP's expansion in the South has been a key part of this process.

New branches of the SWP have been established in southern cities such as Atlanta, Houston, Dallas, San Antonio, Miami, and New Orleans. With the launching of a branch in Raleigh, North Carolina, the SWP took another step forward in expanding its geographical base.

Raleigh is the capital of North Carolina, and the tricity area of Raleigh, Durham, and Chapel Hill is an important political center. I got a taste of this on a recent trip when I spoke to about 110 people at North Carolina State University (NCSU) in Raleigh about the situation in the Middle East.

That same night, more than 100 people demonstrated at the University of North Carolina in nearby Chapel Hill against the racist frame-up of the Wilmington Ten.

The night before, 200 people had attended a rally for the Equal Rights Amendment on the Chapel Hill campus.

And the night after the Mideast forum, about 1,000 people turned out to hear Bella Abzug speak on the women's movement.

SWP comes to town

Gary Sage came to Raleigh from St. Louis in September 1976. He was joined by Joe Bunkley, formerly of Baltimore, the following month. By December 1976, Sage and Bunkley had recruited two North Carolina socialists, Jim Rogers and Gene Philyaw, and an SWP organizing committee was formally chartered in Raleigh.

Philyaw, a twenty-five-year-old hospital worker and a native of Durham, had long been active in the Black liberation struggle. He had been in the Young Socialist Alliance in New York for a brief period in 1972 and had remained an at-large member in Charlotte, North Carolina, for some time, but then had dropped out.

"I started working on the Wilmington Ten case before the SWP came here—in 1974—and I also worked on the Joanne Little case," Philyaw recalled.

He pointed out that he was also interested in gay liberation, and "the SWP is the only political organization around here that discusses gay rights." A southeastern gay conference at Chapel Hill drew 800 people last May.

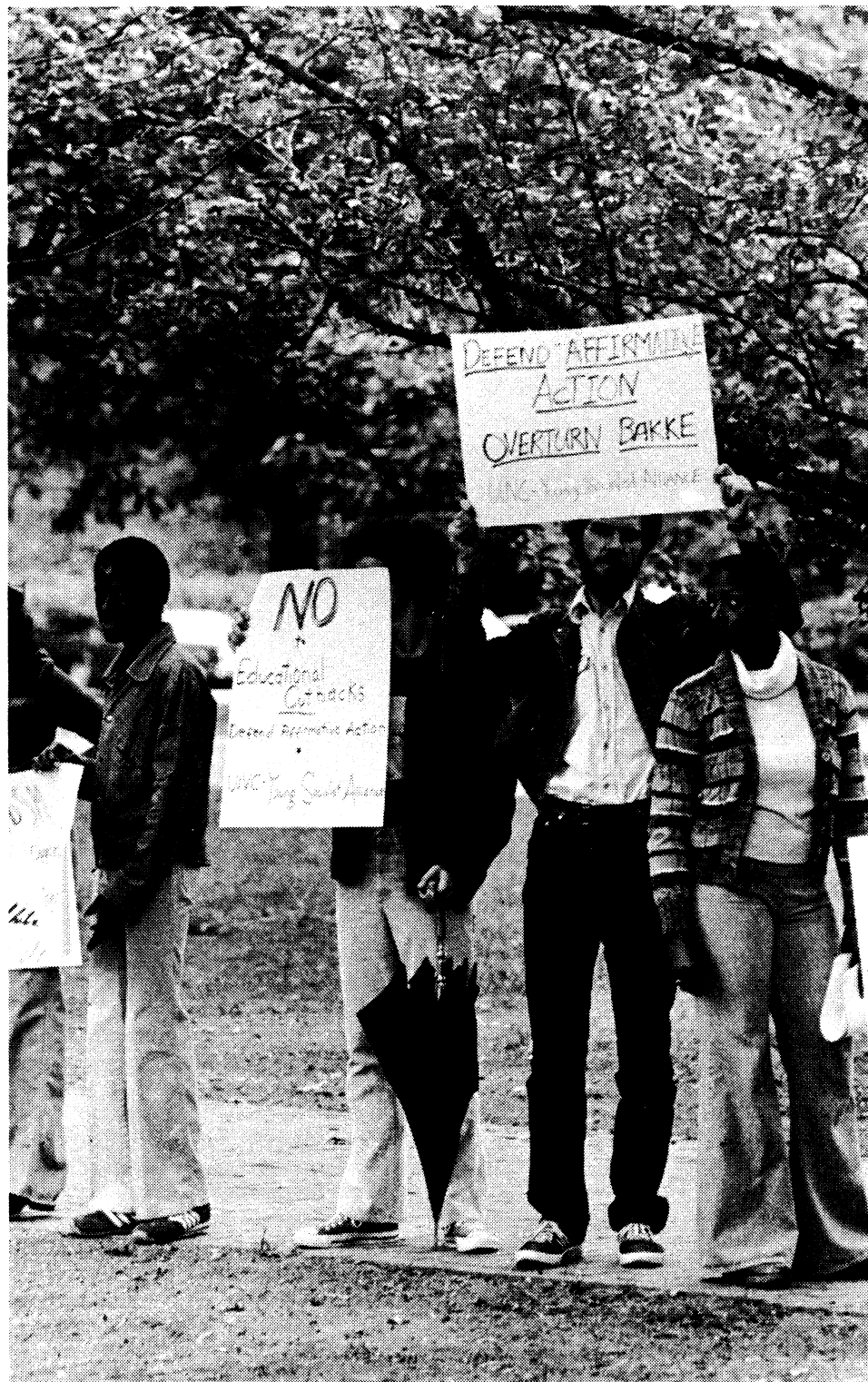
The first activities of the SWP in Raleigh were around the 1976 elections. A debate on the presidential campaign, which included Toba Singer of the Richmond, Virginia, SWP branch, and the southeast regional youth coordinator for the Carter campaign, drew 120 people in October 1976.

Another meeting on the elections in November 1976 drew thirty people. One of them was Doug Clark, a twenty-six-year-old student at Chapel Hill.

Clark, who had grown up in Youngstown, Ohio, had spent a couple of years working in the steel plants there before moving to Raleigh, and he was especially interested in the SWP's support to the Steelworkers Fightback movement.

"I realized that you just can't organize the working class on an individual basis," Clark told me. "But I really wasn't aware of the existence of any organization like the SWP in the United States."

He began reading and selling the



Militant/L.C. Barbour
Young Socialist Alliance helped organize protests against University of North Carolina's refusal to admit more Black students. About 100 people took part in this October 12 demonstration in Chapel Hill.

Militant, while trying to learn more about the SWP—even looking up back issues of the *Militant* and references to the SWP in other newspapers in the library.

But his real education about the impact that even a handful of well-organized socialists can have came in March 1977. A meeting early that month for South African student leader Tsietshi Mashinini that the YSA and SWP helped to build at Duke University in Durham drew 250 to 300 people. Toward the end of the month came another event, related with relish by Gary Sage: the arrival of former CIA Director William Colby.

When Colby came to North Carolina, he probably thought he would be coming to friendly territory. He reckoned without the SWP and YSA, which weren't about to let a speech in defense of the CIA go unanswered.

There were only four Trotskyists in North Carolina at that time, but they helped to organize a picket line of fifty people at Colby's talk. A big majority of the 700 people who turned out to hear Colby were very much opposed to his apologies for CIA crimes.

The SWP and YSA also helped to arrange a debate between Colby and Syd Stapleton of the Political Rights Defense Fund—an organization devoted to defending democratic rights instead of suppressing them.

Colby tried to duck the debate with

Stapleton, but the speakers committee at the University of North Carolina insisted on it. Sage, who had tried to arrange a similar debate in St. Louis the year before, recalled that Colby had refused, saying he was "bored with Stapleton."

"One thing is for sure," Sage noted. "After the Chapel Hill debate, Colby was not bored—not unless he was bored with losing."

YSA grows

Since joining the socialist movement, Doug Clark has helped build an active Wilmington Ten defense committee and a YSA chapter on the Chapel Hill campus. He says, "A lot of students concerned about social and

political issues will tell you how apathetic *everyone else* is. But when you count up all the ones who say things like that, you begin to realize that they've been affected by all the propaganda about how apathetic the students are supposed to be."

Clark noted that in just the previous three months there had been two demonstrations of about 100 each on the Chapel Hill campus against the Wilmington Ten frame-up, a demonstration in defense of affirmative action that drew more than 100 participants, and a debate on affirmative action that drew more than 200 people. In October, the Chapel Hill YSA recruited John Porter and Nelson Lancaster, two more native North Carolinians.

Cosmopolitan image

One aspect of politics in Raleigh area bears special mention. State authorities have been trying hard to emphasize a liberal, "new South" image. The State Department of Commerce proudly states that the Research Triangle area, formed by Duke University in Durham, the UNC campus at Chapel Hill, and NCSU in Raleigh, has more Ph.D.s in proportion to population than any other area in the country.

The "Research Triangle" universities have gone out of their way to attract students from around the world. But like other attempts at planned growth under capitalism, this has led to unexpected consequences for the planners. Iranian students at NCSU, for example, are interested in socialism. They buy three to six copies of the magazine *Payam Daneshjoo* and one or two books printed in Farsi every time the YSA there sets up a literature table. More than half the audience at the forum on the Middle East mentioned at the beginning of this article were Arab students.

Meanwhile, the attempts to give North Carolina's image a facelift have run into trouble. Its state government is one of fifteen that have refused to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment; it is the home of the union-busting J.P. Stevens Company; its racist courts are responsible for frame-ups such as those of the Wilmington Ten, Joanne Little, and the Charlotte Three. Eleven of the eighteen prisoners in the United States declared "prisoners of conscience" by Amnesty International are in North Carolina jails.

North Carolina Gov. James Hunt commented in a news conference following his recent refusal to free the Wilmington Ten prisoners, "Whatever happens to me, I'm concerned about North Carolina, our image, our good name."

Gene Philyaw had a different reaction. "I think people are very bitter and angry about the Wilmington Ten," he said, "and I think the next election will be a very good time for the SWP to run a candidate to present a real alternative to the Democratic and Republican parties in this state."



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In Review

'King'

King. Directed and written by Abby Mann. Starring Paul Winfield and Cicely Tyson. NBC Television, February 12-14.

This three-part series on Martin Luther King was interesting not only for what author-director Abby Mann included but even more for what he excluded or downplayed.

Mann did not intend "King" to be a history of the mass civil rights movement. He intended it to be what he called a "spiritual love letter" to King.

In doing so, Mann distorts both the civil rights movement and King's politics in an attempt to lift King out of the struggle and times that shaped him. He portrays King as bigger than life.

For Mann, the worldwide impact of the civil rights movement is only a stage for King. The viewer is told very little about the awesome power of the movement itself.

The most glaring example is the section dealing with the August 28, 1963, March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom. The viewer is given no idea whatsoever of how this 250,000-strong demonstration came to be.

Nor does Mann see fit to speak of the June 23, 1963, Freedom March in Detroit—a protest that drew more than 150,000 people in support of the southern movement—and of the demand for freedom now in the North.

Another big omission in "King" is the role played by groups other than the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).

One of the most important groups downplayed by Mann is the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). The Congress for Racial Equality (CORE) is left out completely.

SNCC activists worked side by side with King from the time of SNCC's

Television

founding in 1960. They were freedom riders. They campaigned for the right of Blacks to vote. They recruited northern students to participate in voter registration drives. And they provided the initial leaders for the Lowndes County Freedom Organization—an independent Black political party in Alabama that opposed both the Democrats and Republicans.

It was SNCC leader Stokely Carmichael who raised the slogan "Black Power."

Yet SNCC is mentioned only twice during the series.

One of these two mentions shows SNCC activists urging King to adopt self-defense as a tactic to stop racist violence against civil rights fighters. King denounces self-defense, arguing that it is equivalent to the violence used by the racists.

The need for self-defense, however, was only part of the challenge that militant young Blacks began to counterpose to King's strategy. Many had begun to see that a movement aiming to "morally shame" racists was leading into a blind alley. They were also beginning to question King's strategy of relying on the government and liberal politicians to bring Black equality.

This attempt by Mann to portray the differences between King and more militant Blacks as violence versus nonviolence comes up again in a fictional meeting between King and Black nationalist leader Malcolm X.



'King' distorts both the civil rights movement and Martin Luther King's politics in an attempt to lift King out of the struggle and times that shaped him.

Malcolm's differences with King were sharp—but the question of self-defense was only one among many.

King, for example, looked upon the government as an ally, while Malcolm saw the government as an implacable foe of Black rights.

King was a supporter of the Democratic Party and urged Blacks to vote for its candidates—even backing the Democrats' demand for a moratorium on street protests before the 1964 presidential elections. Malcolm, on the other hand, said both the Democratic and Republican parties were racist parties. He urged Black people to break with these parties and form their own independent organizations, arguing that "a Dixiecrat is nothing but a Democrat in disguise."

Mann's hostility to the nationalist wing of the Black movement is quite clear. Malcolm is portrayed as a sneering, evil, white-hating advocate of violence. During their meeting, King practically accuses Malcolm of not being able to cope with being Black!

On top of all this, Mann has the meeting taking place a year after Malcolm's assassination.

In an interview with the *New York Times*, Mann defends this scene by saying, "If you don't distort the people, if you don't distort what they say, it doesn't matter where you insert the material."

But Mann totally distorts what Malcolm said.

Malcolm was not an advocate of violence. He was an advocate of Blacks defending themselves from racist violence. He believed that King's policy of submitting to racist violence actually encouraged racists to heap more abuse on Blacks.

Betty Shabazz, Malcolm's widow, said she was "outraged" by Mann's portrayal and has announced her intention to "sue NBC and the producers of the film."

Among the many other distortions was Mann's downplaying of E. D.

Nixon's key role in the 1955-56 Montgomery bus boycott. Nixon, an officer in the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters in Montgomery, joined with the Women's Political Council there to initiate the boycott. According to King's own account of this struggle, it was Nixon who invited him to the meeting that launched that battle to desegregate Montgomery buses.

"King" was not all bad, however. The most powerful scenes exposed the hostility of President John F. Kennedy, Attorney General Robert Kennedy, Vice-president Lyndon Johnson, and the FBI to the fight for Black equality.

Mann shows that the first response of the Kennedys to civil rights demonstrations was to lean on King to call them off. With Birmingham top cop Bull Connor's two- and four-legged dogs viciously attacking Blacks, Robert Kennedy demands that King stop the protests. When King refuses, John Kennedy answers his brother's question of, "What do we do now?" by saying, "The same thing we always do. Nothing."

The crimes of the FBI against King and the civil rights movement are also recounted. Character assassination, wiretaps, infiltration, poison-pen letters, and claims of "communist control" were all part of J. Edgar Hoover's arsenal against King. King knew of Hoover's campaign but held back from thoroughly exposing the FBI for fear of embarrassing the Democrats in the White House.

Although Abby Mann's "King" distorted the civil rights movement, it did provide at least a glimpse of that struggle, which shook the rulers of this country. Mann tried hard to keep it in the background, but the movement forced its way through.

Nonetheless, the real history of the millions who fought to bury Jim Crow—all of them heroes of the Black struggle—remains untold by "King."

—Omari Musa

...L.A. rally

Continued from page 7

interviews. He also addressed union meetings of longshoremen and shipbuilders.

Vanover told the rally, "Of the 152 miners we started out with on the picket line nineteen months ago, we still have 138. These people have the unity to stick it out." His strong appeal for unity of all working people drew shouts of "Viva la causa coal miners!"

Another speaker was USWA International Staff Representative Manuel Sierras, who spoke as a representative of USWA District 38 Director Robert Petris. Sierras stressed the debt owed to the miners by the steelworkers, saying, "Without the mine workers I wouldn't be standing here now. They made it possible to organize the steelworkers."

In the course of the rally and Vanover's tour, nearly \$6,000 was raised.

...Baltimore

Continued from page 7

February 23 meeting, UMW representatives Fred Merrill, Mack Miller, John Mahone, Paul Fortney, and Jim Zahara explained that the miners need financial support from other unions.

The tone of the meeting was set by Wilson in his opening remarks, when he said, "This meeting was called at our request, not the miners', over a general feeling of concern. In the 1930s the mine workers financed the organizing drive that led to the organization of the Steelworkers union. The fight of the mine workers is our fight, their victory will be our victory, and it is incumbent on working people to stand with the miners."

Publicity for the March 5 rally will be handled by the distribution of leaflets and collections at the plant gates in the Baltimore area. For more information on the rally, call Steelworkers Local 2609 at (301) 633-9220.

The Central Labor Council here has also set up a Miners Relief Committee, which will bring food and funds to the coalfields by car caravan on March 12.

Steelworkers back miners

Following are comments to the "Militant" on the miners' strike by Baltimore steelworkers in USWA Local 8053 at Diamond Shamrock Corporation and Local 6759 at Environmental Elements Division of Koppers Incorporated.

"The miners deserve our support. They work and wind up under the ground with black lung and other stuff. They deserve all the benefits they asked for."

—Bill Bates, Local 8053

"Safety is important in every aspect of life, especially a job. For the miners safety is a life-and-death matter. . . ."

—Rennard Cruse, head of safety committee for Local 6759

"The coal strike is justified because the industry has never been willing to give a working man an opportunity he deserves in the overall process of making a living. The upper crust likes the working man to be downtrodden."

—Bill Smith, Local 6759

"From what I've read of the contract, they should stay out 100 or 200 days if need be. It doesn't look to me like they are going to settle."

—Harvey Tisdale, Local 6759

"If the miners lose, it will be like going back to the old days in a company town."

—Charlie Weaver, Local 8053

Solidarity with the miners

Stakes are high in the outcome of the United Mine Workers of America strike against the coal operators. High for the mine workers, high for working people in general, and high for the Black movement.

As the strike enters its twelfth week, it has become increasingly clear to many that a momentous showdown is taking place—between the coal operators, the energy monopolies, and the Carter administration on one side, and the mine workers and their supporters on the other.

Carter's goal, and the goal of the capitalist class he represents, is to deal a decisive defeat to the miners and cripple the UMWA. Carter and those he speaks for want to force down the miners' throat a contract that takes away many of the gains miners have won—from some measure of control over health and safety conditions on the job, to the cost-of-living clause to guard against inflation.

In their drive for increased production in the mines, Carter and the coal bosses seek to impose a stricter regime in the workplace—including penalties for "absenteeism," speed-up "incentive" plans, and a ban on strikes. And to accomplish this Carter

and the employers are striking at the UMWA's greatest source of strength—the gains in union democracy, such as the right to vote on contracts.

If Carter and the capitalists he represents succeed in this assault, it would mean a defeat not only for the miners but for all working people. It would embolden the employers in the steel, auto, and railroad industries to launch similar attacks on "their" workers in a drive for increased production and higher profits.

Such an outcome for the miners' strike would be a defeat for Black workers, who comprise a large section of the industrial work force in this country. For this reason alone, the Black movement should mobilize in support of the miners.

But the Black movement should throw its weight onto the miners' side for another reason as well.

The same Carter administration and employing class that is out to cripple or crush the UMWA is attacking Blacks and all working people on other fronts as well. The government and employer assault on the miners is part and parcel of—and an extension of—their drive to cut back social services, to restrict abortion rights, to curtail school busing,

John Hawkins



and to gut affirmative-action programs to end race and sex discrimination in employment and education.

In short, the miners and the Black movement confront a common enemy—the Carter administration and the capitalist ruling class. And defeating their assault on any front will make defeating it on the others that much easier.

But probably the most important reason for the Black movement to mobilize in support of the miners' strike is solidarity. Support to the miners on the part of the Black movement would help lay the basis for winning the UMWA and the labor movement in general as active allies in the fight against all aspects of Black oppression.

Such an alliance—based on mutual support in the fight against a common enemy—could have far-reaching consequences. It would open the way to halting the current assault by Carter and the employers. Eventually it could turn the rulers' offensive into a counteroffensive on the part of the Black movement, labor, and all the exploited and oppressed. Undoubtedly Carter and the ruling rich fear this. All the more reason for the Black movement to welcome and promote it.

Women in Revolt

Women and the coal strike

Anyone who has seen *Harlan County, U.S.A.* remembers the Brookside Women's Club. How the miners' wives took to the picket lines and defended the strike for union recognition. How they stood up to the sheriff and made his thugs back off.

It is not hard to see that there is a fighting spirit among women in the coalfields. And it's not only among miners' wives. The hundreds of women who have successfully battled for the right to work in the mines are more proof of the changing mood.

Women owe these sisters support in the current coal strike.

But women also owe it to themselves to support this strike. Not all of the miners may realize it, but when they walk the picket lines they are fighting not only for their cause, but for women too.

After all, defense of the miners' right to strike to enforce their contract is a blow on behalf of the 31 million women in this country who work in low-paying jobs without union protection.

The miners' defense of the cost-of-living clause in

their contract challenges the same bosses who have been cutting back child-care facilities, clinics, and other social services women need.

The miners' demands for medical benefits, a key issue in the strike, should certainly be appreciated by women who have been denied pregnancy benefits and money for abortions.

In short, the miners' stand for dignity confronts the same ruling class that degrades women.

That ruling class is on an offensive against all the gains made by the civil rights and women's movements and by trade unions in the past decade. Every time the bosses win on one front, the attack is strengthened elsewhere. If the mine workers lose their strike, that defeat will fuel the attack on the ERA, abortion rights, and affirmative action.

Women—who have suffered setbacks recently with the failure to ratify the ERA and passage of the Hyde amendment—can learn some lessons from the miners.

As the coal companies moved against them, as

Diane Wang



government officials at all levels from state house to White House joined in the attack, the ranks of the miners union have answered with a resounding *no*.

That's how women need to respond when the Democrats and Republicans tell us they can't guarantee our rights or provide services. We need a movement so strong and united that the government has no choice but to make the concessions we demand.

The women's movement has that lesson to learn from the miners' strike. Women also have a lot to contribute.

Women should help get out the truth about the strike and its importance for all of us. Women in the National Organization for Women, the Coalition of Labor Union Women, union and campus women's groups should give mine workers a platform, pass resolutions of support, raise funds.

To adapt an old solidarity slogan: a victory for one is a victory for all. If this strike wins, so will women.

Capitalism Fouls Things Up

Miners and environmentalists

Right now, every newspaper in the United States is covering the battle between the United Mine Workers of America and the coal operators. Environmentalists have a stake in who wins that battle.

On one side are some of the biggest corporations in the country—the same oil, steel and coal companies environmentalists have fought time and again.

The coal companies are notorious for their rape of the environment, and the miners are the natural allies of anyone who wants to fight the destruction of the environment by these corporate giants. After all, it is the miners and their families who have to live with the mess left by the coal operators.

Big chunks of Appalachia have been destroyed by strip-mining operations that have bulldozed hills, woods, homes, and even family burial grounds. Streams have been polluted and the face of the countryside disfigured.

Today, 160,000 miners are striking because they want to work in a safe environment—and they want

to be able to decide when it's unsafe, not leave the decision up to the company. They want the right to strike if the company violates safety rules or other parts of the contract.

These are demands environmentalists should unite behind.

Coal mining is the most dangerous work. Coal miners suffer disabling injuries three times as often as the national average. Some 2,000 miners have died in mine accidents in the past ten years.

Another 4,000 miners die each year from black lung, a disease caused by breathing coal dust. No one knows exactly how many miners have black lung, but official figures put the number at 17 out of every 100 working miners.

Now that the miners' strike is beginning to really hurt the coal companies, they have pulled out all stops in their lying propaganda. The companies, and their willing allies in the big-business media, and capitalist political parties, have wheeled out a

new "energy shortage" to whip antiminer hysteria.

We are threatened with everything from plant closings to darkened city streets if the miners don't go back to work. This is nothing but crude blackmail aimed at pitting other working people against the miners and forcing UMWA members to accept the companies' terms.

President Carter has openly sided with the companies' lies by declaring that the "national interest" demands allowing utilities to burn high-sulfur, high-polluting coal.

A few years ago it was the Arabs causing the energy crisis. Then it was environmentalists. Now it's the coal miners. Who's next?

The truth is that the only shortage the companies really care about is in the profit department.

The coal companies are interested in making money, not in safe working conditions or a clean environment. The fight of the miners against the companies' profit scramble is a fight environmentalists should support.

Arnold Weissberg



Quote unquote

"Peace was something worth shooting at."
—Gen. William Westmoreland, former commander of U.S. forces in Vietnam.

SIGN OF THE TIMES

From a review of the new movie *Blue Collar* in the February 20 issue of *People* magazine: "This film about three auto workers has trouble deciding whether it's *On the Waterfront* or a Socialist Workers party tract."

OK ON OFFSHORE DRILLING

The U.S. Supreme Court February 21 lifted the last legal barrier to oil drilling off the New Jersey coast. Exploratory operations had been held up by legal challenges from groups on Long Island and New Jersey.

The federal government estimates that between 400 million and 1.4 billion barrels of oil may be in the Baltimore Canyon undersea region.

Environmentalists charge that at least five major oil spills can be expected during the twenty-five-year life of the fields. In addition, normal operations result in regular oil discharge into the water.

THE CASE FOR BUSING

Two researchers have concluded that desegregation of lower elementary school grades substantially benefits Black students.

Dr. Robert Crain and Dr. Rita Mahard reviewed seventy-three studies of Black student achievement. They found that

Carey to extradite Joanne Little

New York Gov. Hugh Carey announced February 22 that he would order Joanne Little returned to North Carolina. Little fled prison there last October, charging that she had been made a special target for abuse.

Little became a symbol for the women's and Black movements in 1975 when—imprisoned after a burglary conviction—she was accused of murdering a white jailer who tried to rape her. She pleaded self-defense and with the help of worldwide protests was acquitted.

Little was captured in New York City after her escape and is free on \$51,000 bail.

Little's attorney, William Kunstler, charged that Carey "has yielded to the governor of the state [North Carolina] which has shown itself to be



utterly racist in its treatment of Black people."

Kunstler quoted Little as saying she would "rather die than return to North Carolina," because she was a "marked woman."

Carey's decision will be appealed.

a majority of the studies showed "positive achievement gains for black students in the first or second years of desegregation."

The two researchers noted that their findings challenge the policy of many school boards, which leave lower elementary grades segregated.

Crain and Mahard also found that Black students do better after mandatory school desegregation because such plans are generally accompanied by "staff desegregation, special training courses for teachers and curriculum revision."

CIA MUST APOLOGIZE

The CIA has been ordered to apologize and pay \$2,000 to civil libertarian Corliss La-

mont for opening two letters he sent his wife. "Illegal governmental prying into the shared intimacies of husband and wife is despicable," said Federal Judge Jack Weinstein.

The judge, however, explained that he wouldn't grant a larger monetary award because of the large number of possible other plaintiffs and because the damages might run into the millions.

'MILITANT' GETS AROUND

Militant staff writer David Frankel's interview with Rev. Ben Chavis, one of the Wilmington Ten, which appeared in our February 10 issue, was reprinted by the *Chicago Defender*, a Black community daily, on February 11.

BOARD: NO FED SCHOOL \$

A local school board in Queens, New York, voted last month to turn down \$1.1 million in federal aid to avoid having to take an "ethnic census" of teachers and staff.

Virtually all residents of the district are white. Some Black and Puerto Rican students are bused in. The district staff is also almost all white. Board members said they feared that a census would lead to imposition of a quota system for hiring more Black or Puerto Rican teachers.

The board had previously rejected \$40,000 because the money would have gone to create jobs for Blacks and Puerto Ricans.

PICKET FOR GAY RIGHTS

More than 150 people in San Francisco picketed a half-hour prime time TV appearance by antigay bigot Anita Bryant February 22. The marchers demanded equal time for pro-gay rights representatives. The action was widely reported in Bay Area media.

INSULT TO INJURY

Robert Stamps, one of nine students wounded by National Guard gunfire at Kent State University in May 1970, has filed a \$200,000 suit against a Cleveland college, charging that he was refused a job there because of his involvement in the Kent protest.

Stamps charges that Cuyahoga Community College placed him at the top of the list for a counseling job but told him a few days later that his background was unsuitable. In the intervening days, Stamps says, CCC found out he was one of the guard's victims.

AFL-CIO: 'No business with S. Africa'

The AFL-CIO Executive Council February 24 called on U.S. corporations to "immediately divest themselves of South African affiliates and sever all ties with South African corporations." The condemnation of the apartheid regime came after an appearance by Donald Woods, a white South African newspaper editor who recently escaped the country after being placed under house arrest.

"Apartheid can only function with investment from overseas," Woods told the council.

AFL-CIO President George Meany said that "the profit-hungry business corporations will cry crocodile tears" over having to stop trade with South Africa. "But the big job is to bring human decency to South African workers."

MAINE INDIANS SETTLEMENT

Representatives of two Indian tribes suing the state of Maine over treaty violations have agreed to a settlement proposed by a White House task force. Instead of clear title to the 12 million acres of land the Penobscot and Passamaquoddy Indians sought, fourteen big landholders would turn over 300,000 acres to the federal government to be held in trust for the two tribes. In addition, the Indians would get \$25 million cash and \$1.7 million a year for fifteen years.

The settlement still faces a major snag—Maine Attorney General Joseph Brennan labeled the proposal "irresponsible and indefensible."

What's Going On

Celebrate International Women's Day

March 8 has been celebrated as International Women's Day since 1910. This year women will mark the occasion with actions and forums to win

the Equal Rights Amendment and to defend abortion, affirmative action, and other rights.

Annapolis, Md.: Rally at state capitol to defend Medicaid funding for abortion. Mon., March 6, 7:30 p.m. Ausp: Marylanders for the Right to Choose, a coalition of sixty-seven organizations.

Boston: March and tribunal to defend abortion rights. Sat., March 11, assemble at noon at state house and march to Univ. of Mass.-Boston downtown campus, 100 Arlington, for tribunal and workshops. Ausp: coalition including Abortion Rights Coalition, South Middlesex National Organization for Women (NOW), Cambridge YWCA, Abortion Action Coalition, Coalition to End Sterilization Abuse, others.

Chicago: "Socialism and the Fight for Women's Rights." Speaker: Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party. Thurs., March 9, 8 p.m. 1870 N. Halsted. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (312) 642-4811.

Cincinnati: "Women Speak Out Against the Bakke Decision." Panel discussion of affirmative action. Thurs., March 9, 7:30 p.m. Room 749 Baldwin Hall, University of Cincinnati. Ausp: Univ. of Cincinnati Women's Center. For more information call (513) 475-3967.

Cincinnati: "Radical Women in History." Panel of socialist feminists. Fri., March 10, 8:00 p.m. 970 E. McMillan. Donation: \$1, high school students, retired, or unemployed: 50¢. Ausp: The Militant Forum. For more information call (513) 751-2636.

Houston: meeting on the Bakke decision. Wed., March 8. University of Houston. Ausp: University Feminists.

Los Angeles: "Feminism and Human Nature." Speaker: Evelyn Reed. Fri., March 10, 8 p.m. International Institute, 435 So. Boyle. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Press.

Louisville, Ky.: week of activity at University of Louisville. March 6-10. Highlights include an appearance by Robin Morgan on Tuesday; panels on abortion, lesbian rights, affirmative action, and rape Tuesday and Wednesday; and a forum by Anne Sheppard Turner, one of the Wilmington Ten defendants. Thurs., March 9, 7 p.m. at Cochran Auditorium in Strickler Hall.

Minneapolis: "Celebrate International Women's Day: Support the Willmar Bank Strikers." Fri., March 10, 8 p.m. 23 East Lake St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Mi-

litant Forum. For more information call (612) 825-6663.

Newark, N.J.: "Strategy for the Women's Movement: How to Win the ERA." A panel discussion. Fri., March 10, 8 p.m. 11A Central Avenue. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

New York: The Bronx: "The Women's Movement and Rising Labor Militancy." Speaker: Marcia Gallo, former SWP candidate for U.S. Senate. Fri., March 10, 8 p.m. 2271 Morris Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 547-1462.

New York: Lower East Side: "Women and Socialism." Speaker: Dianne Feeley, SWP candidate for New York governor. Fri., March 10, 8 p.m. 7 Clinton St. Donation: \$1.50; high school students and unemployed: 50¢. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 260-6400.

New York: Upper West Side: "Socialist Strategy for Women's Liberation Today." Speaker: Linda Jenness, SWP National Committee. Fri., March 10, 8 p.m. 786 Amsterdam Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 663-3000.

Philadelphia: "The Women's Movement Today." Fri., March 10, 8 p.m. C15 Stiteler Hall, University of Pa., 37th and Locust. Speaker: Clare Fraenzl, member of SWP and NOW. Ausp: Militant Forum.

Pittsburgh: "Women's Rights Under Attack." Speaker: Linda North, SWP. Fri., March 10, 8 p.m. 5504 Penn Ave., East Liberty. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (412) 441-1419.

San Francisco: "Day in the Park for Women's Rights." Speakers: Valerie Coleman, Prof. Harry Edwards, Dr. Josette Mondanaro, Carol Ruth Silber, Dr. Mary Spencer, others. Sat., March 11, 11:00 a.m.-3:30 p.m. Golden Gate Park bandshell. Sponsored by NOW and endorsed by more than thirty-five women's and community groups. Mayor Moscone has declared March 11 "Women's Rights Day." For more information call (415) 282-1079 or 647-2855.

Toledo, Ohio: Panel discussion on women political prisoners. Fri., March 10, 8 p.m. 2507 Collingwood Blvd. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (419) 242-9743.

CALIFORNIA

SOUTH EAST LOS ANGELES
STALINISM AND THE NATURE OF THE SOVIET UNION. A class series by Theodore Edwards, Socialist Workers Party. Beginning Sun., Mar. 5, 2 classes at 1 & 3 p.m. 2554 Saturn Ave., Huntington Park. Donation 50¢ per class. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (213) 582-1975.

SAN DIEGO

RALLY FOR HECTOR MARROQUIN. Speaker: Héctor Marroquin. Fri., Mar. 10, 8 p.m. Centro Cultural de la Raza (Park Blvd.). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Héctor Marroquin Defense Committee; United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners. For more information call (714) 283-8819.

FLORIDA

MIAMI

PANAMA FOR THE PANAMANIAN: WHY THE UNITED STATES SHOULD UNCONDITIONALLY GIVE UP THE CANAL. Speaker: Prof. Miguel Antonio Bernal, Panamanian socialist in exile. Tues., Mar. 7, 8 p.m. 7623 NE 2nd Ave. Donation: \$1.25. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (305) 756-8358.

MICHIGAN

DETROIT: EAST SIDE

WHO RULES DETROIT. Speaker: Nan Bailey, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. House of Representatives, 13th Congressional District; Tom Smith, SWP

ABORTION RIGHTS RALLY

Militant correspondent Suzanne Knauerhase reports that more than 300 people from throughout Ohio gathered at Akron University February 11 to protest a proposed city ordinance that would impose severe restrictions on a woman's right to abortion. Represented at the rally were several chapters of the National Organization for Women, Catholics for Free Choice, and the Kent Young Socialist Alliance.

Kathy Helmbach, president of Cincinnati NOW, told the rally, "This ordinance is not merely a local issue. It is a test case for the state of Ohio and the entire country."

BLAST DEATHS NO CRIME

Criminal charges against the Warner-Lambert Company and four of its executives were dismissed February 15. The charges stemmed from a November 1976 explosion that killed six workers at the company's chewing gum factory in New York City.

The company admitted that it had deliberately continued the use of the highly dangerous substance, magnesium stearate, in its manufacturing processes. But because Warner-Lambert had cut down on use of the substance, Judge John Leahy agreed with the defendants' contention that they had not acted with "reckless and conscious disregard" for safety.

Carter signs breeder funds bill

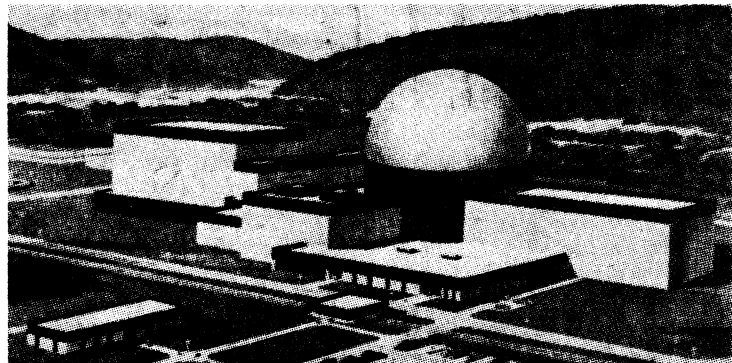
President Carter signed a \$6.1 billion energy research bill February 27 that included \$80 million for the Clinch River, Tennessee, breeder reactor project.

Carter vetoed a bill appropriating the same money last fall, but expressed no public opposition to including the funding in the energy research package.

The breeder is a special type of nuclear power plant, which operates on extremely radioactive plutonium. None are currently in commercial operation. The breeder's ap-

peal to nuclear power supporters is that it "breeds" plutonium fuel by producing more than it consumes.

Although Carter has previously expressed some hesitations about going ahead with Clinch River, his strong pro-nuclear power policy—calling for 300 reactors in the next twenty-five years—has a built-in drive toward development of the breeder. Current nuclear fuel supplies are expected to last no more than forty years, and the only source after that will be breeders.



Artist's rendering of Clinch River breeder reactor doesn't show dangerous levels of radioactivity or airborne plutonium particles.

candidate for U.S. House of Representatives, 14th C.D. Sun., Mar. 19, 7 p.m. 12920 Mack Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 961-5675.

NEW YORK NYC: BROOKLYN

IN DEFENSE OF HECTOR MARROQUIN. Speaker: Margaret Winter, attorney for Hector Marroquin. Fri., Mar. 10, 8

p.m. 222 Utica Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 773-0250.

PENNSYLVANIA WEST PHILADELPHIA

IN DEFENSE OF HECTOR MARROQUIN. Speaker: Margaret Winter, attorney for Hector Marroquin. Fri., Mar. 17, 8 p.m. Place to be announced. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (215) 387-2451.

Defend the coal miners

BOSTON: "Labor rally to support the striking mine workers." Sun., Mar. 12, 2 p.m. Freeport Hall, IBEW Local 103. Speakers to include: striking Stearns, Kentucky, miner; local labor officials; and slide show.

CLEVELAND: "The struggle in the coalfields and the profit drive of the U.S. ruling class—Ohio socialist election campaign kick-off." Speaker: Dick Roberts, staff writer for the *Militant*. 11 a.m. and 2 p.m. Buffet dinner 6 p.m.; campaign rally, 8 p.m. 13002 Kinsman Road. Ausp: 1978 Socialist Workers Ohio Campaign Committee. For more information call (216) 991-5030, (419) 242-9743, or (513) 751-2636.

DETROIT, EAST SIDE: "Miners under attack: Labor's stake in the coal strike." Speakers: Peggy Brundy, national field

organizer for the Socialist Workers Party; others. Sun., Mar. 12, 7 p.m. 12920 Mack Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 961-5675.

DETROIT, WEST SIDE: "The miners' strike: What it means for working people." Speaker: Robin Mace, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Michigan. Sun., Mar. 12, 7 p.m. 18415 Wyoming. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 341-6436.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: "Support the mine workers: Unionists discuss importance of the UMWA strike." Fri., Mar. 10, 7:30 p.m. All Souls Church, 16th & Harvard St. NW. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

The Great Society

Harry Ring



No bars to profits—To improve the quality of penal care, let's have a private, profit-making prison system, says Richard Mitchell, a former New York prison official. In addition to lodging fees, he suggests, "a private prison corporation could gain higher profits by encouraging innovative use of prison labor." We have a better idea. Simply declare all of American enterprise a prison system. Make the plant superintendent the warden, and the foremen the guards.

The march of civilization—French agronomists have succeeded in cultivating truffles. If crops can be produced, it will no longer be necessary to use specially trained dogs and pigs to sniff out the tasty wild fungus. Barring further inflation, this could bring a decrease in the present price of fifty dollars a pound.

Spray them tapes—Those who have been agitating for a ban on aerosol spray cans merely because they adversely affect the earth's atmosphere may not have realized they were tampering with na-

tional security. A ban on fluorocarbons could affect the armed forces, the CIA and FBI, and even the White House, advises *Electronics Magazine*, which says the cans are essential to the functioning of certain "sophisticated electronic equipment."

Visiting the Big Apple?—If so, and you're tired of crashing on friends' couches, try Suite 42C at the Waldorf. Two bedrooms, kitchen, dining room, and a big living room. By the night, \$950. If you don't need the space, try 38H (used by Frank Sinatra). Only \$550.

More explaining needed—A federal study concluded that American teenagers are pretty dumb when it comes to politics. True, the survey found, they have a respect for the poor, favor minority rights, and have a lot of ideas on how to avoid wars. But only a small number could explain what the surveyors decided is the key feature of American "democracy," that the people elect the leaders. The report urged more civics classes.

National Picket Line

Frank Lovell



Meany's tipoff

The seemingly off-handed remark by AFL-CIO President George Meany, giving advance support in anticipation of Carter's use of the Taft-Hartley law against the striking miners, was deliberate.

The timing was studied, coming as it did when the miners were under attack on all sides from the coal operators and the Carter administration.

The setting was appropriate—the balmy climate and opulence of Bal Harbour, Florida, where the AFL-CIO Executive Council regularly holds its winter meeting.

The scene contrasted sharply with the February cold and snow in the Appalachian coalfields.

Meany first told reporters what he would do if he were president: seize the coal mines and give the miners a contract they could not refuse. But Meany is president of the AFL-CIO, not the United States. So he took the occasion to pass on a tip to Carter. "After all, Taft-Hartley is part of the law of the land," said Meany. "We don't like it. But if the president feels it's his only alternative, then we won't criticize him."

In this way Meany told Carter that if the administration opted to try to break the miners' strike by forcing them back to work for an eighty-day "cooling off" period under the Taft-Hartley law, the union bureaucracy would do nothing to help the miners.

Meany's purpose was to ingratiate himself with Carter, hoping in this way to get in line for a special political favor. What he wants more than anything else at the moment is help in getting the union-backed Labor Law Reform Bill through Congress.

Meany's timely reference to Taft-Hartley in connection with the coal strike is a reminder that the AFL-CIO withdrew its opposition to section 14-b, the anti-union right-to-work clause in the law. That was last year's concession to Carter, and Meany shows he is willing to go further this year.

There was nothing new in the statement itself, but under changing circumstances over the years it has always served some special purpose. Meany said the same thing at the 1947 AFL convention in San Francisco when John L. Lewis of the

miners union tried to persuade the delegates to fight the newly enacted labor law and refuse to file cases under it with the National Labor Relations Board.

Meany responded to Lewis. "Whether you like it or not . . . the Taft-Hartley is on the statute books," he said. "We know that it is a bad law, but it was placed on the statute books by our representatives under the American democratic system, and the only way that it is going to be changed is by our representatives under that system."

The reason Meany spoke for Taft-Hartley on that occasion was because of the anticommunist clause that was in the law then. He supported this as a means of promoting his own personal ambitions in the AFL hierarchy. He spoke the feelings of the craft-minded, company oriented, business-union delegates who later elected him president of the AFL.

In the present circumstances, Meany is saying for the union bureaucracy that what they want is a law recognizing and protecting their special status. They think the Labor Law Reform Bill, giving more power to the NLRB and further curbing the right to strike, is a step in that direction.

The entrenched union bureaucracy has its own stake in government control of labor/management relations. Counting the camp-followers and hangers-on who infest union offices and meeting halls, feed at the trough of union treasuries, and leech on the wage struggles of union members, the bureaucracy numbers in the tens of thousands. They are a narrow but identifiable social strata, an unsavory part of the middle class.

Their attachment to the union movement is like that of a lawyer to the law business. They are separate from the working class, living and thinking more like employers than workers.

Top union officials pride themselves as moderators and fixers when it comes to negotiating union contracts and settling workers' grievances. Their success depends on connections with employers and employer associations and on the support of government agencies and politicians. George Meany is the patriarch of the bureaucracy. He says without thinking what they all feel without saying.

Women and industry

March 8 was declared International Women's Day by the International Socialist Women's Congress in 1910, in honor of the battle for suffrage in the United States.

On March 8, 1908, women garment workers in New York City had marched for the right to vote, the eight-hour workday, and an end to child labor. Generations before them, on March 8, 1857, women in the needle trades had marched from New York City's Lower East Side to protest their working conditions.

Women workers have a long history in this country. They have been used as a reservoir of cheap labor that could be tapped when necessary and drained away later.

Working women today know all too well how that works. With unemployment high, women hear the claims that they are taking "men's jobs." They see child-care centers closed, making it necessary for them to stay home.

A similar effort to drive women off the job market succeeded after World War II. During the war women were told it was their patriotic duty to replace men in industry. Suddenly the image of the working woman was glamorized.

Between 1940 and 1944 more than 3 million married women entered the labor force in this country. Many of them had children. So in August 1942 the government extended the Lanham Act, which was to provide public works made necessary by the war, to provide child care.

During the next few years the government provided child-care centers for more than a half million children. At the peak of service, in 1944, more than 3,000 centers were caring for 129,357 children.

At the close of the war the funding was abruptly cut off. Not because the centers weren't needed, but because women weren't wanted on the job any more. They were supposed to go back to work at home.

Women had other hopes. When the Women's Bureau of the U.S. Labor Department interviewed women in ten cities in 1945 it found that three-fourths of those employed expected to be part of the postwar labor force. About 84 percent of those women had to continue working to support their families.

Women fought to keep the child-care centers. The September 29, 1945, issue of the *Militant* reported on women's protests in Boston and Philadelphia.

An editorial in the September 22, 1945, *Militant* had this to say:



Now with the declaration of "peace" the enormous swelling of the ranks of the unemployed, the capitalists are anxious to return women to household drudgery. . . .

Highly skilled women workers are given the axe as the war profiteers trim down their payrolls. In many instances, the slogan of the employers, "back to the kitchen," is a savage jest, for the former men wage-earners are still in the armed forces, refused discharges; while those returning to industry are greeted with the sign, "No Help Wanted."

The government is cooperating with the employers. Throughout the nation the government is closing down the nurseries and child care centers, forcing working mothers to get out of the plants.

Thus under the capitalist system, women are herded into the factories when it is time to make flame-throwers, shells, arms, bombers, tanks, atomic bombs and all the other frightful instruments of destruction. When the world is in ruins, however, and civilization has been shaken down to its foundations, then the women are driven out of the factories. Precisely when the women workers could offer tremendous help in reconstruction they are among the first to be selected for the scrap heap.

Most of the women in the war industry became militant trade unionists as they learned the lessons of the class struggle from first hand experience. These women must now draw a still more important conclusion: The capitalist system bars women from their rightful place in industry. In peace they are condemned to back-breaking housework. In war they are condemned to building instruments of destruction. Woman's only hope of freedom lies in joining the class-conscious workers to build the socialist society of the future.

'Paul Robeson'

I was sorry to learn tonight that *Paul Robeson* will be closing this Sunday (February 26). It seems the self-appointed censors, the National Ad Hoc Committee to End the Crimes Against Paul Robeson, got their wish. New Yorkers will no longer be able to decide for themselves the merits of this play.

NBC's Carl Stokes did an update on his two-part "Topic A" report on this controversy February 24. Not one member of this committee would go on television to describe why they think the play is a "pernicious perversion of the essence of Paul Robeson." So Stokes went straight to the theater to ask individuals about the play. In interview after interview, he found nothing but enthusiasm for the play. Having been a part of the audience myself, I can assure *Militant* readers that this is no exaggeration of the audience response to *Paul Robeson*.

Besides being personally sorry that the play is leaving Broadway, I was very sorry to see a group of Black Americans organize to censor any form of art from the public.

James Earl Jones told NBC TV that this group was attempting to create a Black HUAC. As the committee has nothing of any substance to say in print or before a camera, I would have to agree with this commentary.

Jane Harris
New York, New York

Forced sterilization

I would like to comment on Diane Wang's column dealing with the interests of all sisters [*Militant*, February 24]. I agree with 98 percent of what she has to say, especially with a woman's right to choose.

I would like to know how Wang feels about the epidemic of mass forced sterilization that is taking place in some Third World countries as well as some parts of the United States. My honest opinion is that there isn't any contradiction with the government's anti-abortion stand. I call mass forced sterilizations "permanent abortion." There is a monster behind there, a monster by the name of MR. HYDE.

T.J.
Memphis, Tennessee

Small complaint

The alterations and additions to the paper seem to generally improve the appearance and substance. George Breitman's reviews are informative and well written. The "Our Revolutionary Heritage" column appears to be a valuable addition in communicating some of the history of social movements in the United States.

I have one small complaint: the "If You Like This Paper, Look Us Up" appears cramped. If you can change the type style or spread it out horizontally the length of the

page, it may ameliorate the problem.

"In Brief" appears to have a similar problem in appearance. The reportage is excellent as always. Keep up the good work.

Gary Sage
Raleigh, North Carolina

Share it

Somewhere in the *Militant* these words should be easily seen:

"When finished reading share with others; send to a friend; leave on a bus or train; leave around work, laundry, food basket, or library; don't leave it laying around your house; hand it to a person on the street."

Something which appears regularly to "catch an eye" or a reminder of how ideas can be spread.

A reader
Chicago, Illinois

Pollution Denver style

Denver is supposed to be the climate capital of the world. A daily paper here claims, "'Tis a privilege to live in Colorado." I suggest instead, "'Tis a hazard to breathe in Colorado."

Denver's air pollution is now regarded as the worst in the country. Several health alerts have been issued in the past few months.

In an effort to stem concern over pollution and test citizen response, public discussions were held February 9 by the Colorado Air Pollution Control Commission. These meetings, held throughout the city, drew standing-room-only crowds with total attendance well over 1,000.

The daily papers have been pushing the idea that the individual worker is to blame for driving her or his car to work every day. Many speakers suggested taking the bus, riding a bike, or just plain walking.

A few speakers placed the blame for pollution on the government and the ruling rich, as did Sue Adley of the Socialist Workers Party.

Adley proposed, "A first step for Denver would be to provide free bus service around the clock. Working people should not have to pay a penny more in taxes for this service. We have paid for the streets and other facilities so that the downtown enterprises might flourish. Let them foot the bill."

Mike Maloney
Denver, Colorado

Research Malcolm X

I am a student with the University of Maryland overseas, studying political sciences. I am doing research on Malcolm X. Malcolm said that the *Militant* is a good newspaper, and I, being a subscriber myself, find it to be very objective. You ran several articles in your paper on Malcolm X. I would like to get a hand on these articles, since I am very sincere in this work in

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Randy L. Johnson
Army Post Office, New York

Exploitation by Nestle

The New York University chapter of the Committee to Investigate Corporate Power is participating in a "Conference and Presentation on World Hunger" at New York University this March. Our committee's role in the project is to collect and compile information about the activities of the Nestle Corporation in reference to their exploitation and abuse of Third World mothers through the promotion of their synthetic baby formulas.

I've noticed that your newspaper has over the years consistently shown concern for the abuse of Third World people, and particularly women, at the hands of multinational corporations. Therefore, the committee hopes that you and your readers could be helpful by providing us with any information on these activities of Nestle's (or Gerber, Borden, Beech-nut) in the form of reports, back issues of your or other organizations' publications, newspaper articles, statements, or names of other organizations that might have such information.

Mike Levinson
643 Pelham Road, Apartment 2A
New Rochelle, New York

Leaflets that were handed out said, "You are invited to participate in a study circle sponsored by *Perspectiva Mundial*." *Perspectiva* is a Spanish-language socialist magazine published in New York. The leaflet was printed in Spanish, and the study circle was conducted in Spanish.

People came to exchange ideas and experiences, including two participants who spoke no English. A full exchange of ideas was encouraged by avoiding long opening presentations.

A few of those who came to the discussions were born here in the United States, but most came from other countries. One participant was a Panamanian working in the Brooklyn Navy Yard, where 90 to 95 percent of the 6,000 workers are Black and Hispanic. The Panamanian learned about the study circle from a co-worker, a North American socialist who has been learning Spanish and who was able to take part in the discussion.

A woman from Cuba who now works as a teacher in New York City's mostly Puerto Rican Lower East Side also attended, along with people from Chile, Puerto Rico, and Colombia.

Once the discussion got going, it was a lively one. The Panama Canal treaty being proposed by Carter was one topic. Another was the ideas and issues raised by members of the recently formed Committee of Latin American Homosexuals (COHLA). A third thing that concerned everybody was the economic crisis of capitalism and its effect on people all over the world.

Selva Nebbia, one of the discussion leaders, reports that two women from Chile expressed interest in the women's liberation movement in the United States. They noted that there was no independent women's movement in Chile during the period of the Allende regime. They also wanted to discuss what had led to the coup that overthrew Allende, and the subsequent bloody military dictatorship.

How did this study circle get started? It was organized by the Socialist Workers Party in New York City for new readers of *Perspectiva Mundial*. The group met at the SWP headquarters in Chelsea, which has a bookstore with Marxist literature in Spanish as well as English.

The basis for study circles of this type was established last fall when more than 1,000 subscriptions to *Perspectiva*

were sold—159 in New York City alone. This month, SWP members began visiting subscribers to get them to renew their subscriptions and to invite them to discuss socialist ideas.

The success of this Spanish-language study circle organized by the SWP in New York has encouraged plans for additional discussion groups. Experiences elsewhere might not be exactly the same as in New York, but *Perspectiva Mundial* is a national publication with a national readership. Readers of *Perspectiva* around the country should be encouraged to discuss and learn about socialism—in Spanish.

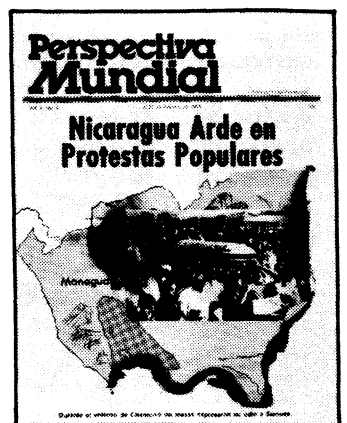
—Paul Montauk

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Canaries & coal mines

Dick Roberts's article on mine safety is an excellent example of the kind of article that should appear more frequently in the *Militant*. However, one point should be corrected: canaries were used to detect carbon monoxide not methane. Methane has no physiological effect except to displace oxygen in the atmosphere; the danger comes from its explosive potential as Roberts pointed out. Carbon monoxide, however, combines with the hemoglobin in the blood preventing oxygen from getting to the body. Canaries, which are more sensitive to carbon monoxide, would keel over before the miners and serve as an early warning.

It should also be pointed out that rock dust is not innocuous. If the dust has any silica or quartz in it, then it causes silicosis, a lung disease as bad or worse than black lung. Even rock dust that doesn't contain silica can cause irritation to the eye, nose, and throat.

Kendall Green
New York, New York

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

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THE MILITANT

Meetings demand: REVERSE 'BAKKE'

San Francisco

By Fred Lucci

SAN FRANCISCO—More than 200 people attended a student conference against the *Bakke* decision February 18 at the City College of San Francisco.

The CCSF Student Government Association sponsored the conference, which was endorsed by seventy organizations and individuals.

All the speakers stressed the need for unity in the movement to defend affirmative action. San Francisco NAACP President Joseph Hall captured this spirit, saying, "It is necessary for the various coalitions to come together and organize against *Bakke*."

Barbara Kline from the campus task force of the National Organization for Women at the University of California in Berkeley told the conference, "There is a need to go on an educational campaign to explain the *Bakke* decision to women. We must explain that it is an attack on all the affirmative-gains we've won."

Former medical student Don Parks explained how the U.C. Davis Medical School had actually used its special-admissions program to *limit* Black and Chicano student enrollment. (The *Bakke* ruling arose from a lawsuit by a

white applicant to the Davis medical school who claimed his rejection resulted from "reverse discrimination" in the school's special-admissions program for minority students.)

Parks said that "since the special program at Davis went into effect, not one Black or Chicano has been admitted through the regular program!"

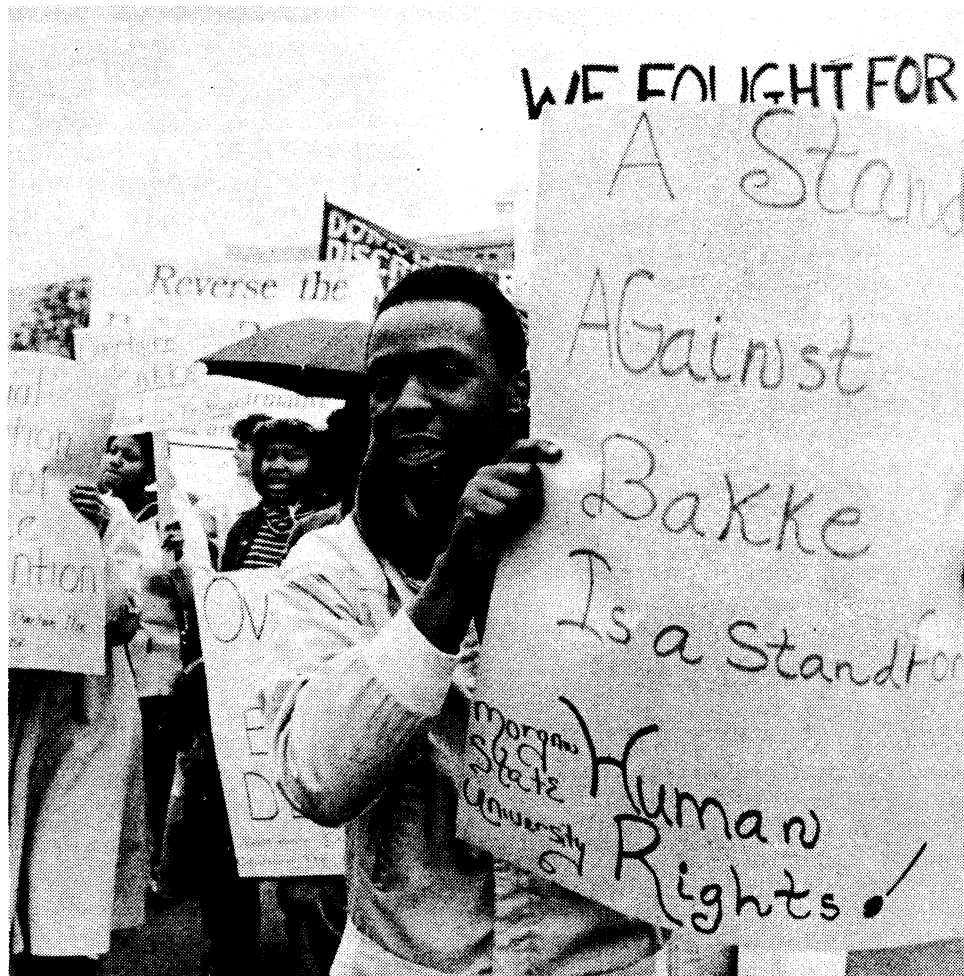
The conference voted to hold educational activities against the *Bakke* decision on April 4—the tenth anniversary of Martin Luther King's assassination—and to build other protest actions called for the spring.

Other speakers at the conference included: Nikke Trasviña, Student Coalition Against Racism; John George, Alameda County supervisor; James Bell, Black American Law Students Association; Julie Otake, National Committee to Overturn the *Bakke* Decision; and Brooksey Sams, CCSF student government vice-president.

Toledo

By Dean Elder
and Kurt Landefeld

TOLEDO, Ohio—A majority Black audience attended a forum against the *Bakke* decision at the University of Toledo February 21. The Toledo Coali-



Militant/David Nudel

tion for Affirmative Action (TCAA) sponsored the event.

TCAA activist Delores Anderson told participants that a U.S. Supreme Court decision upholding the *Bakke* ruling would open the door for wiping out affirmative-action programs in employment, housing, and education. "You can't just say, '*Bakke* doesn't affect me,'" Anderson argued.

Other speakers included Roy Wingate, chairperson of the University of Toledo Black American Law Student Association; Jean Peterman, president of the Bowling Green NOW; and Ernie Jones, president of the Toledo Federation of Teachers Black Caucus.

Since it was formed last October, the TCAA has won support at TU from the Women Law Students Association, Black Student Union, MEChA, and La Raza.

New Orleans

By Joel Aber

NEW ORLEANS—On February 22 the representative assembly of United Teachers of New Orleans (UTNO) unanimously passed a resolution demanding reversal of the *Bakke* decision. The resolution called for "quotas or goals" to implement affirmative action for Blacks and women.

The 4,000-member United Teachers of New Orleans is affiliated with both the American Federation of Teachers and the National Education Association.

The UTNO resolution is contrary to the position taken by AFT President Albert Shanker, who has rallied behind the racist assault on affirmative-action quotas.

CAIFI 6 charges dropped

By José G. Pérez

Six members of the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI) have won their fight against trumped-up disruption charges that had been filed against them by the Jersey City State College administration.

The JCSC officials withdrew the charges at a February 23 hearing before Jersey City, New Jersey, Municipal Court Judge Edward Zampella.

"We have been vindicated," said Kateh Vafadari Zahraie, one of the defendants and CAIFI's assistant national secretary.

"This is a clear-cut victory for freedom of speech won by the hundreds of people who sent protest messages or signed petitions demanding charges be dropped." Such protests had come from all over the United States, as well as Québec, England, and Holland.

If the college administration had not been forced to back down, the six could have been jailed for up to three years and deported to Iran. There, they would have faced certain imprisonment and torture, and possibly death, because they have been outspoken critics of the brutal repression of U.S.-backed despot, Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi.

Among those who protested the frame-up were former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark; Nobel Laureate Salvador Luria; Prof. Noam Chomsky; Karen DeCrow, past president of the National Organization for Women; playwrights Edward Albee and Eric Bentley; novelist Kurt Vonnegut; Kay Boyle, author and honorary cochairperson of CAIFI; Reza Baraheni, honorary cochairperson of CAIFI and former political prisoner in Iran; Paul Sweezy, editor of *Monthly Review*; and Ahmad Shamlou, Iranian poet and former political prisoner.

In addition, the persecution of the Iranian activists was becoming a political hot potato for the college administration within the campus itself. The February 17 *Gothic Times*, the student newspaper at JCSC, carried a front-page story about the case under the headline, "Political Dispute Results in Nationwide Campaign Against JCSC." The paper also published an editorial criticizing the administration for discriminating against CAIFI.

On February 20, the student government held a long discussion on the case, and voted to request that charges be dropped.

College cops arrested the six January 19 while they were on campus filing an application for a permit to set

up a literature table. The cops falsely claimed the six "did disrupt the normal academic procedures of the college."

After being forced to retreat, the college administration put out a news release claiming they had been right all along and saying charges were being dropped "solely because we would not like to subject these young people to deportation and possible political reprisals back home."

However, lawyers for the college apparently were not so sure the administration was blameless: as part of the agreement for dropping the charges, they demanded that the CAIFI activists sign a promise not to sue the college or city cops "for false imprisonment or for any other reason or charge."

Howard Brownstein, an attorney provided by the New Jersey affiliate of the American Civil Liberties Union, represented the six at the February 23 hearing. In a short presentation to the court, Brownstein pointed out that the college officials had no reason to arrest the six to begin with. "This is America, not Iran," Brownstein said. "They had a right to go on campus."

Kateh Vafadari Zahraie told the *Militant*, "This is more than a victory for the six of us, CAIFI, and freedom of speech on this particular campus."

She said that in recent months harassment and attacks on Iranian students and dissidents had increased. "This case is a warning to the U.S. government and college administrators all over this country that the American people will not stand for the persecution of Iranians who protest the brutal repression of the Iranian government."

She noted that the college administration's claim that it dropped the charges because it didn't want to see the six deported was a lie. When the activists were first arrested, campus officials had threatened to call the immigration cops, in effect threatening deportation.

"The college's 180-degree about-face four weeks later wasn't due to a sudden conversion to the cause of human rights," Vafadari Zahraie said, "It was due to the pressure of the protests they received."

"This victory, as well as past victories we have scored in winning freedom for Iranian political prisoners, reinforces our conviction that the most effective way to fight for human rights is by mobilizing public opinion through everything from petitions and protest-message campaigns to picket lines and demonstrations," she said.